

# **A Framework for the Successful Integration of Casinos into Sustainable Communities**

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**Abstract**

Casinos are currently one of the most popular real estate and economic development tools used by planners throughout America. As the stigma fades from casinos and gaming in general, many urban areas throughout the country are battling to be the sites of casinos, supposedly engines of economic development and place making. This paper explores the impacts of casinos on economic development, environmental sustainability and social equity; and how policymakers, casino development plans, and community comprehensive plans address sustainability issues. The author finds that in some cases, the benefits of casino development are overstated and not suitable for communities wishing to enhance sustainability. However, for the communities explored in this paper, converting casinos into alternate uses is difficult, and it may be necessary to implement sustainable strategies given the likelihood that casinos will remain a part of these communities' future.

## **1. Introduction**

Casinos have become a popular go-to source for economic development. Before the 1980s, only Las Vegas and Atlantic City (which opened its first casino in 1977) had casinos; since then, 29 states have legalized them (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis 2003, 4). It is assumed that casinos bring increased employment, increased retail sales for local businesses, attraction of tourists, and greater tax revenues for state and local government (4). States like Illinois, which is currently experiencing a budget crisis, could have earned \$10 to \$53 billion from gambling over the past two decades, more than enough to cover budget issues (5). States frequently study the economic benefits of casinos, because of their concern about the economic bottom line, or raising enough revenues to cover government expenditures when taxes are not enough. But how do gambling and casinos effect the social fabric of neighborhoods, the environment, the long-term economic viability, and the sense of community of the areas that they are developed in? These are just some of the issues discussed in this paper, since all of these issues fall under the rubric of sustainability.

The author hopes to discover how communities have addressed sustainability and casinos by looking at four different sources: academic research that focuses on the impact of specific casinos, community-wide comprehensive development/master plans, plans and legislation designed by the casino themselves for specific casino properties, and local and state-level legislation regarding casinos. The above references document the extent casinos deal with issues regarding sustainability above and beyond short-term profitability of casinos.

This paper defines sustainability before analyzing each municipality specifically; this is because sustainability in and of itself is such a hard term to define. Many groups and organizations have attempted to define sustainability but the term has radically different meanings in varying contexts. The term "sustainability" has been applied to bodies ranging from the international level all the way to the local level. People have discussed varying forms of sustainability, and generally when doing so, have a vague notion that sustainability should mean that institutions implementing sustainability measures should be long-lasting, or that the environment surrounding said institution. This paper offers a precise definition of sustainability, and use this definition to describe sustainability in several communities across the country.

This paper will also briefly touch on issues regarding how people in local communities view gambling. This is harder to research since the author cannot personally interview city residents regarding feeling on casino development, but such opinions can be extrapolated from various news articles that have been written about the subject. Casinos, and gambling in general, has had a long history of opposition for moral reasons from people all over the world and from people with a variety of religious and philosophical backgrounds; thus it is important to acknowledge these varying feelings on gambling since at least some people in these communities will likely hold anti-gambling views, and this will have a direct impact on social sustainability.

We live in a unique point in history, as traditionally casinos have been opposed on moral grounds; now opposition stems from other reason like sustainability and profitability. Despite this opposition, casinos are still be developed at a rapid rate. Ironically, despite the controversy and taboos surrounding casinos and gambling, according to some experts like William

Thompson, there is an over-saturation problem with casinos, even though we still have a “wave of new casinos coming” (Tunnell 2014). Legislators in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Maryland are all opening up their respective states to casino development, despite widespread opposition to these businesses. The widespread proliferation of casinos, more than almost any other factor, hurts the economic sustainability of casinos across the country, which is surprising given traditionally casino's main impediment to economic sustainability was law enforcement and anti-gambling advocates (Schwartz 2003, 12). Another factor effecting economic sustainability, which many critics point out, is that money spent in casinos is money not spent elsewhere (Goodman 1995, 11). Jobs may be created, but they may employ people from outside the community. Additionally, casinos impose costs on police, firemen, and other public resources and infrastructure above and beyond those of other forms of economic development (Yinger 2013). Finally, tax revenues generated from gambling may be overstated, as many states do not use gambling funds to fund education, but to pay other expenses and debts (Strauss 2012).

Casinos have widespread economic impacts in communities. When new casino developments come along, consumers shift their dollars from other types of entertainment (Goodman 1995, 27). This has a negative multiplier effect, where businesses not directly related to the new casino may go out of the business, and the employee formerly employed at that establishment can no longer spend their dollars to boost the economy (27). The time and money spent in casinos is time and money that could have been spent elsewhere, thereby boosting the economy in ways other than through gambling (28). Many studies have found little economic development benefit from gambling because of this. A 1994 study by the Illinois Economic and

Fiscal Commission reported that most communities in the state recorded little or no economic development benefit from casino gambling (28). Even though these communities moderately increased their sales in drinking and eating establishments, overall merchandise sales did not go up at all in these communities. A study by the same organization of Joliet showed that by the end of 1994, no new businesses had come about due to gambling except for a small coffee shop (29). In the case of casino gambling study mentioned above, riverboat gambling did fine for a few years, although pari-mutuel gambling and track gambling declined in the wake of the riverboat casinos (Goodman 29, 1995). Because of these and other reasons, many experts remain skeptical of casino's ability to support economic development.

The social costs of gambling can be significant. Many people in casino communities oppose their existence, as do people living in communities where casinos may be developed. In Massachusetts (Arsenault 2014), for example, liberals and conservatives are allying to keep the gaming industry out of the state. A recent initiative is up for voting in the state that would prevent the existence of three casinos and a slot machine parlor in the state that were authorized by legislators three years ago. This one example demonstrates that despite the enthusiasm that government officials have for gambling, many community residents are wary of the possible effects of casinos.

The environmental issues related to casinos will also be discussed in this paper. Traditionally when people think of sustainability, the environmental/ecological factor is the first one they think of. Many casinos have done a fine job addressing environmental sustainability issues, releasing company-wide policies to address environmental sustainability in the context of energy and water usage, pollution, and waste. Furthermore, casinos have a major impact on

their environment by means of the physical structure of the facility, and its impact on the landscaping, transportation accessibility, architectural aesthetics, and creation of sense of place. The built environment of a casino thus has major impacts on both social and environmental sustainability.

This paper seeks examine the benefits and costs of gambling in five different municipalities: Las Vegas, Nevada; Atlantic City, New Jersey; Tulsa, Oklahoma; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Detroit, Michigan. These cities vary significantly in the diversity of their economies, their demographics, culture, and history of gambling. However, one thing all of these cities have in common is a history of gambling going back to at least the 1990s and a large metropolitan population whose economic sustainability has become at least partially based around the success of casinos. These cities also happen to be places that the author has visited and has taken note of various social, economic and environmental issues. There have been other metropolitan regions with significant casino development like Philadelphia, Miami-Fort Lauderdale, and Baltimore, but these metropolitan regions have only experienced casino development recently and will only be discussed briefly in this paper. Additionally, future casinos are planned for development throughout the country in states ranging from Massachusetts to Alabama; developers of these future casino developments will likely take into account conclusion similar to the ones developed in this paper if they hope to be successful.

As will be discussed further, Las Vegas, Nevada has been the model that the other cities have been themselves when planning for casino development (Goodman, 7). However, this model has not served other cities well. Las Vegas was at the frontier, literally and figuratively, of a gambling in the United States, while the other cities were late-comers to gambling. This



meant that late-comers had to compete with the already successful casino developments that had cropped up nearby. Las Vegas and the gambling industry that has sprouted up there represent many aspects of American culture: optimism and hope, a powerful desire for immediate wealth, and the seclusion of taboos away from mainstream life despite mass participation in these taboos.

There has been contradictory data from differing sources regarding sustainability of casinos. For example, the American Gaming Association has looked at the impact of gambling in each state. This report studied both racetrack casino facilities and casinos owned by gaming licensees (American Gambling Association 2013, 3). The report notes that 2012 represented the third consecutive year of growth in national gross gaming revenues, and the highest level of gaming revenues since 2007, which was before the recession that hurt so many casinos economically (5). This paper will try to look at these contradictory sources and determine which are mostly to be accurate in determining future sustainability of casino communities.

## 2. What is sustainability?

One of the primary goals of this paper is to show how currently existing casinos can be made more sustainable, and how policymakers, casino development plans, and community comprehensive plans address sustainability issues. Thus, it is important to define what sustainability is.

The modern day concept of sustainable development arose from the 1987 publication by the UN-sponsored Brundtland Commission (formerly known as the World Commission on Environment and Development) (International Institute for Industrial Environmental Economics 1998, 1). This commission was preceded by earlier conferences including the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment (1972) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (1980), where developed nations realized the need to conserve natural resources, and began to appreciate the economic and social issues faced by developing nations who were unable to improve their statuses in these areas (International Institute for Industrial Environmental Economics 1998, 2). The policies of neoliberalism that followed from the Bretton Woods Conference of 1945 had promoted free markets and globalization without taking into account environmental and social impacts (Chomsky 2010). These facts led to the Brundtland Commission. The Brundtland Commission was headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, former Prime Minister of Norway and currently a special envoy to the United Nations.

The Brundtland Commission released the document *Our Common Future*, also known as the Brundtland Report in October 1987, after which the commission was abandoned (World Commission of Environment and Development 1987, 9). *Our Common Future* elaborated on issues related to both the environment and to development, seeing knowledge of one as

integral to knowledge of the other (10). According to The United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in its 1987 report *Our Common Future*, sustainable development is, "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (General Assembly of the United Nations). The document "Our Common Future, Chapter 1: A Threatened Future" (United Nations 1987) also discusses how poverty leads to environmental degradation, which in turn leads to more poverty. Many traditional societies valued their environment, but as industrialization began, these societies have declined in their respect for nature. The poor will often only be concerned about short-term outcomes rather the long-term well-being of their environment, leading them to engage in destructive behaviors (United Nations 1987). Many other negative environmental impacts are also discussed in the document, like desertification, depletion of ozone, and sea level rise. The commission also sought to raise awareness of the need for sustainability not only among nations, but also communities, volunteer organizations, state, provincial, and local governments, schools, media and academia.

Agenda 21 became the centerpiece of the new comprehensive sustainable development plan (United Nations Sustainable Development 1992). This document was completed during the Earth Summit held June 13, 1992. The 300-page document had four sections: *Social and Economic Dimensions*, which discusses combatting poverty, *Conservation and Management of Resources for Development*, which discusses curbing deforestation and pollution, *Strengthening the Role of Major Groups*, which concerns strengthening the rights of disadvantaged minority groups, indigenous people, women and children, and *Means of Implementation*, which discusses the organizations that will implement the goals of Agenda 21. Later meetings

convened to update the plan, including Rio+5 in 1997, Rio+10 in 2002, Agenda 21 for Culture in 2002, and Rio+20 in 2012. The goals of Agenda 21 are to be enacted by governments at the national, regional, and local levels. The 1992 meeting was also followed up by the third UN Conference on Environment and Development in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002.

Implementing the goals of the Agenda 21 and other international movements for sustainable development are difficult, because of opposition within nations from certain groups (Mencimer 2011). For example, in the United States, many conservative groups like the Tea Party oppose the ideals of Agenda 21.

Nonetheless, the United States has made concerted effort to institute environmental policies of its own. The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency 2014) was the first attempt in the United States to create an environmental sustainability policy. This act came about in the early 1970s, around the time growing awareness of environmental issues in the United States began to develop, which also led to the Wilderness Act, Clean Air and Clean Water Acts. The act outlined national policies and goals, including the necessity of environmental impact statements and assessments for major projects that could affect the environment. Statements and assessments compel all state agencies to acknowledge the environmental impacts of any projects, such as highway or building construction.

Since the advent of the modern concept of sustainability, the term can take on slightly different meanings depending on the context. In the context of urban development, it usually includes three key concepts: environmental sustainability, economic sustainability, and social sustainability (United Nations General Assembly 2005, 2). Various models exist of how these

three factors work together. The original Brundtland Commission model identified these three goals as the main focal points of sustainability. Their model showed a diagram with environment being the biggest circle, with society within that circle and the economy further within (3). This model placed the environment at greatest importance, with society and the economy subservient to the goals of the environment. This model was accepted until some began to question the emphasis it placed on the environment versus society and the economy (18).

In the United Nations 2005 World Summit, the three domains were given equal status (UN General Assembly 2005, 3). In their model, social environmental, and economic factors overlap to what is considered to be sustainability. A yet newer model by the UN specifies cultural and political sustainability as an important factor in addition to ecological and economic sustainability (Global Compact Cities Programme). This is known as the Circle of Sustainability and is often used at the city level. However, this latest model is not as commonly used as the earlier models. The model of sustainability including economics, environment and society will be explained further, particularly in the context of urban development and casinos.

This paper will mostly refer to the 2005 World Summit definition of sustainability (United Nations General Assembly 2010, 3). This is because many environmental standards, designations, and certification systems are based on this model (5). The environmental aspect subsumes the economic and social aspects within its criteria. Within this model, accounting for economic factors is a tertiary concern within social factors (secondary concern), and environmental factors (primary concern). Environmental factors include air quality, water quality, energy use and land use, which can be measured using air quality indices like the US

EPA Air Quality index, which measures ground-level ozone, particulate matter, carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide, and nitrogen dioxide. Social sustainability includes the factors of equity, interconnectedness, diversity, democracy and governance, and quality of life (Hodgson 2010).

International organizations like the UN have argued for the importance of sustainability in urban planning due to increasing urban squalor in many world cities, environmental crises like climate change, and housing insecurity caused by the global financial crisis (UN-HABITAT 2010, 5). UN-HABITAT held the Second World Urban Forum in 2004 to discuss sustainability in cities, particularly as it relates to citizen and stakeholder participation.

In 2006 at the Third World Forum in Vancouver, discussions included topics like good governance, new approaches to property ownership, pro-poverty policies and cultural diversity. A paper was released at the meeting titled 'Reinventing Planning' which defined 10 Principles describing the benefits of urban planning, which included promoting sustainable development, achieving integrated planning, integrating plans with budgets, planning with partners and stakeholders, meeting subsidiary principles, promoting market responsiveness, ensuring access to land, developing appropriate planning tools, being pro-poor and inclusive, and recognizing cultural diversity.

In 2009, UN-HABITAT issued 'Global Report on Human Settlements: Planning Sustainable Cities,' which further promoted sustainable city planning. UN-HABITAT has also developed an internal department called the Urban Planning Flex Team that develops policies related to urban planning. This report explained five factors related to sustainability that are shaping the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

NEPA has also directly impacted the city planning process. For example, Las Vegas completed an environmental analysis process for its land disposal project, which required it to determine a land disposal boundary that is environmentally impacted by the new project (Las Vegas Valley 2004, 2). The project had to protect natural areas and view sheds, in addition to the habitats of certain animal and plant species. The project also had to obtain compliance from right-of-way holders and holders of other permits and licenses on the land to carry out the project. The EPA also required public involvement in the project.

## **2.1 Environmental sustainability**

Environmental sustainability includes managing several resources, including oceans, freshwater systems, air and the land. Management of land use (including designations of land to be maintained as forest, woodland, grassland, or urban areas) has a major impact on the water, carbon, and nitrogen biogeochemical cycles. Human activities have a major impact on climate change, one of the major issues facing humans and the environment.

Casinos can have a major impact on environmental sustainability (Sykes, et. al, 2012, 2). They can impact the environmental sustainability of a community in many different ways by enhancing scenic beauty and historic features of a community, using energy sustainably by using energy-efficient equipment, using sustainable materials, monitoring and improving on-going operations in terms of energy and other impacts, instilling climate resiliency and availability in response to extreme weather, minimizing traffic impacts and improving transit options and walkability (3).

The built environment is an aspect of the environment that refers to the human-constructed surroundings that includes landscaping, buildings, and infrastructure. According to

*Casino Atmospherics from a Customer's Perspective*, there are five primary aspects of the casino built environment: theme, floor layout, ceiling height, employee uniforms, and noise level (Johnson et al., 2). The built environment has a major impact on the natural environment, along with the social and economic livelihood of the surrounding area. The built environment relates to sustainable concepts like sustainable architecture and ecological design (Orr 2014), which are recent developments in sustainability as it relates to the built environment.

The built environment of a casino affects both the natural environment and the psychological attributes of patrons. In “Sustainability in Casino Design and Operation,” the authors discuss the increasing environmental sustainability of casinos due to the increased concerns of casino designer, builders, and owners about sustainability (Sykes, et al. 2011, 1). Sustainable casino development does not mean that casinos must become less profitable; if anything increased sustainability can help improve profitability of casinos by decreasing energy costs of casinos, the surrounding areas, and the patrons who use the casinos (1). Most casinos are designed in such a way that the artificial sources of lighting, and heating, ventilation and air conditioning are often highly needed. These costs can be significant because the operation and maintenance costs of casinos are around 80% costs over the course of their lifetime (Taylor, Julie 2013, 8). These design choices are often chosen because they are proven to keep patrons in casinos for longer periods, which casinos believe increase revenues, despite the fact such design choices may actually be very costly (11).

LEED standards in particular have been crucial for promotion of sustainability in both construction of neighborhoods and stand-alone buildings (U.S. Green Building Council 2014),



and have had a significant impact on casino development. Many casinos have either adopted LEED standards or are seeking to do so (American Gaming Association 2014).

Increasing day lighting is another method of improving environmental sustainability (Sykes, et al., 2011, 2). Today, casinos are commonly designed to minimize the amount of lighting. This stems from several reasons: firstly, laws in most municipalities have restrictions from gambling machines being seen outside of the casino; secondly, manufacturer often warn against machines being placed directly in sunlight due to possible machine malfunctioning; thirdly, it is believed that the psychological effect of limited sunlight increases the likelihood of casino patrons staying inside of the casinos for long periods of time, since they are less able to see activity going on outside of the casino (3).

Other design choices include the location of casinos, and the large “suburban-style” of casino resorts, which encourage patrons to spend as much time around casinos as possible (Schwartz 2003, 4). Little can be done about these aspects of casino design for casinos that have already been built and developed. Other aspects of casino design can be changed.

Newer forms of casino design have come along which improve wayfinding, customer sense of well-being, and customers’ desire to stay on the casino premises (Lehrer 2012). Roger Thomas, an interior designer, has gained a great deal of notoriety for designing casinos which manipulate customer psychology in this fashion.



Source: *How Roger Thomas Redesigned Las Vegas*

<http://archinect.com/news/article/41963078/how-roger-thomas-redesigned-las-vegas>

But these casinos do not necessarily encourage patrons to engage in responsible behavior. In studies of customers using a holographic device called a Panoscope that allowed those surveyed to visualize various casino spaces, Thomas's casinos provided greater levels of comfort for patrons. Many of these rooms had light color pastels for the floors and walls, and other elaborate designs that relax casino patrons, thereby encourage them gamble more. Moreover, many of these details were designed specifically for women. However, customers often gambled more recklessly with less guilt in casinos designed with Thomas's techniques.

## **2.2 Economic sustainability**

Economic sustainability involves ensuring the commonly held resources are not exploited, and acknowledging that unlimited economic growth may not necessarily be positive for a community if not everyone benefits from that growth (Pezzey and Toman 2002, 5). The concept of economic sustainability also includes the concept that safe business practices that do not pollute or over-exploit the environment can be helpful to businesses themselves in the long-run (Freeman and Malone 2000).

Corporate sustainability means that companies should account for environmental impacts and social impacts the same way they account for profits, revenues and expenses. Some companies have realized that if they take into account environmental impacts and social impacts, profits and revenues may increase along with them. For example, Wal-Mart has increased recycling at Wal-Mart stores and Sam's Club facilities, thereby increasing profits by reusing materials (Wal-Mart 2014).

Another aspect of economic sustainability that ties in with environmental sustainability and social sustainability is the use of building materials that are compatible with the environment both in terms of energy efficiency and aesthetics (The Congress for the New Urbanism 2011). This can be achieved through New Urbanism design or other architectural methods.

The phrase "the Triple Bottom Line" or TBL, which originated with John Elkington in 1994, is often associated with calculating economic, social, and environmental sustainability with an accounting or economic methodology (Slaper and Hall 2011). Another phrase used to refer to the same idea is "People, Planet, Profit." Essentially, all economic, social, and

environmental impacts of a corporation, non-profit organization, government organization, or some other entity are calculated using a dollar amount. This approach to sustainability is controversial for a variety of reasons, among them that many feel that by quantifying the various types of sustainability in terms of dollars rather than some of non-monetary amount, the measurement mostly serves as a barometer of an organization's economic success rather than its overall sustainability. Newer versions of this measure also may take into account more explicitly changes time and future generations. Yet other versions may focus on ecology, or the environment independent of social and economic factors, thereby emphasizing the value of nature independently of any human benefit.

According to *Interpreting Sustainability in Economic Terms* the three factors of economic sustainability are interlinkage, intergenerational equity, and dynamic efficiency (Stavins, Wagner, and Wagner 2002, 2). Interlinkage is the flow of goods and services between economic sectors, intergenerational equity is investing across generations, and dynamic efficiency is an economy that balances short-run concerns with long-term ones (Cogoy & Steininger, 4).

### **2.3 Social sustainability**

As of the passing of Agenda 21 by the United Cities and Local Governments Executive Bureau, social sustainability has been divided into two new concepts: cultural sustainability and political sustainability (United National General Assembly 2007). Cultural sustainability means upholding the cultural diversity of all peoples in a community regardless of culture. Political sustainability involves employing laws and policies that help sustain infrastructure and democratic practices that allow for the participation of all community members in decision making. However, for the purposes of this paper, social sustainability will be seen as including

both political and cultural sustainability as those forms of sustainability are still considered to be integrated into social sustainability by most organizations dealing with sustainable issues.

Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen defines social sustainability using five different criteria: equity, diversity, interconnected/social cohesions, quality of life, democracy and governance, and maturity (Hodgson 2014). These six factors cover most of what was traditionally considered to be a part of social sustainability. Other concepts that may be included as part of social sustainability are social capital and socially responsible investing (Littig & Griessler).

The impact of a casino's social sustainability can be measured in terms of the amount of problem gambling caused by the casino, impacts on equity between various socioeconomic classes via the casino's impact on employment and patron's casino spending, impacts on the interactions of various community members, and the casino's involvement in various community activities, organizations, and events.

Also, in casinos, social sustainability revolves around designs, policies, and regulations that will help casino patrons not be taken advantage of. Unfortunately, over the years, many of these restrictions have been done away with. For example, in New Jersey, city-wide policies existed that prohibited twenty-four hour gambling, outlawed games like keno, poker, and sports betting, and restricted the amount of space for especially addictive slot machines (Goodman 1995, 11). By 1994, all of these restrictions were dropped, except for the restriction on sports betting, due to pressure from casinos on lawmakers.

Some of the issues of the social ills related gambling can be studied by looking at other cities that have dealt with such issues at a large scale. Macau is a special administrative region within China that serves as one of the country's primary economic engines due its high volume

of tourism (BBC New 2006). In 2005, 10.5 million tourists came from China alone to visit the region's twenty-three casinos, and brought in \$6.8 billion in revenue compared to only \$6.6 billion that Las Vegas brought in the same year. However, Zhidong Hau writes in *Social Problems in Macau* that historically Macau's social problems have been much worse in casino areas than in the rest of the island (2005). This led to a long history of resentment against gambling among some Macauans. Another paper, *Social impacts of casino gambling Macao: A qualitative analysis*, also demonstrates positives and negatives social impacts of casino gambling in Macau (Wan 2011, 1). The positives include "increased personal incomes and improvement in the city's financial power, landscape, infrastructure and facilities, and the enlargement of entertainment and recreation facilities"(1), while negatives include "uncontrolled urban development, reduction of public leisure and green spaces, heavy traffic and traffic congestion, a high drop-out rate among school students, increase in problem gambling and crime, increased demand for counselling services and public health treatment, deteriorating quality of life and finally the difficulties of many small and medium-sized businesses in competing with the larger casino businesses" (1). The authors conclude that casino gaming has more negative impacts than positive social impacts in Macao. Some of the methods they discuss to ameliorate the negative impacts of casino gambling includes raising the minimum age needed to work in casinos from 18 to 21 to discourage high school from dropping out; cooperation between government officials, academics, and casino to help prevent problem gambling (mainly through increasing education related gambling and lessening the amount of gambling advertising); better town planning and a comprehensive development plan that will take into account land use, transportation, and environmental

issues, and historic preservation in order to coordinate different goals of interests of; better transit throughout the city including in casino areas to ameliorate traffic and pollution issues; including small and medium-sized businesses in decision over developing casinos; and helping younger couples to afford property in the city despite escalating real estate prices encouraged by the profitability of nearby tourism amenities (14-15). All of these goals will help promote social sustainability in Macau, and could possibly find applicability in other municipalities.

### **3. History of casinos in urban development**

Gambling has been a part of the United States going back to its inception. The British used lotteries to help raise revenue for infrastructure during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Goodman 1995, 4). By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, gambling facilities had turned into full-scale casinos, many of which were located on the Mississippi River. For a period of time during the antebellum period, New Orleans became the prime location for casino development (5). During the Reconstruction period, gambling facilities also developed throughout the western territories, where gamblers were free from the oversight of anti-gambling legislation.

By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, gambling had declined and was banned throughout much of the United States (Schwartz 2003, 4). Organized crime began to take over gambling operations as they were pushed underground. Las Vegas became the earliest center for casinos. During the 1930s, while the Hoover Dam was being built, the workers demanded entertainment for their downtime (5). This resulted in a casino being built alongside several theaters. As local legislators realized the profitability of gambling operations, momentum grew to legalize gambling. This is what happened in 1931, setting the foundation for Las Vegas's status as the world's greatest gambling destination.

During the 1940s and 1950s, casinos in Las Vegas developed a global and even a national reputation, despite the fact rumors swirled that much of city was run by the Mafia (Schwartz 2003, 7). Upper and middle class individuals who wanted to enjoy casino gambling preferred to travel to tourist destinations rather than have them in their own neighborhood (Goldfield 2007). Casinos that operated in Galveston, Texas; Hot Springs, Arkansas; and New Orleans, Louisiana, among other places, declined in popularity as the Las Vegas casinos



increased in revenue and popularity. By 1954, over \$200 million was coming into Vegas casinos (History of Las Vegas, Wikipedia). Beginning in 1966, Howard Hughes, a titan of American aviation industry, began buying up much of the real estate in Las Vegas, turning much of the property into hotels, restaurants, and casinos. By buying property formerly owned by the Mafia, he was able to help change the city's image from being Mafia-run to being a prime entertainment destination. The development of convention centers also led significantly to the growth of Las Vegas (Schwartz 2003). By the late 1970s, casinos were seen as a tool of economic development due to the growth that was occurring in Las Vegas. Indian casinos in particular were established beginning in the late 1970s. In 1976, New Jersey decided to establish gaming facilities to boost economic development within the state, hoping to reverse the decaying resort town of Atlantic City. In the 1990s, several Midwestern states authorized riverboat casinos, although the casinos were not explicitly tied to the purpose of urban development (Encyclopedia of American Urban History). States also started adding lotteries to the available gaming choices beginning in the 1960s. These lotteries, used for the funding of schools and other infrastructure, have also led significantly to patterns of urban development.

Casino resorts, as they were originally developed on the Vegas Strip and duplicated in Atlantic City, were designed for suburbia and not classic urban downtowns (Schwartz 2003, 17). A variety of factors contributed to the designs of Vegas's casinos starting in the early 1940s, which usually included a large set of hotels, restaurants, and entertainment along with stores and recreation in a resort setting, and were placed distantly from Downtown. The primary factor contributing to the suburban-style design, contrary to some who believe that the main impetus behind resort-style casinos was better law enforcement or better economic

development, was to keep patrons on the casino property to use all the possible amenities on site (Schwartz 2003, 18). These amenities were developed in early 1940s casinos, and were later joined by amenities like theme parks in megaplexes the 1990s. Other factors included greater availability of land at cheap prices.

Suburban-style casinos, not surprisingly do not do so well in urban areas. For example, Atlantic City developed suburban-style casinos near its downtown area but the casinos have done little to slow urban blight. There are many reasons why “urban” style gambling casinos and parlors work better, which will be the basis of some policy recommendations in the following sections.

#### **4. Benefits and costs of casinos**

There are costs and benefits to both the suburban and urban style of gambling. As mentioned, gambling establishments have long been intertwined with American culture. Understanding the costs and benefits of gambling will help municipal governments decide how to enhance the sustainability of casinos and whether or not they are even worth developing in first place.

After the invention of slot machines in the 1890s, gambling gained exposure to an even greater part of the population. Slot machine operations expanded under the protection of gambling and crime syndicates (Schwartz 2003, 19). These type of games interestingly also encouraged women and children to play, as they required no strategy or prior experience in order to gamble, although women and children were usually not technically allowed. Gambling in these establishments also usually served alcohol, even during Prohibition era from 1918 to

1933 (24). Illegal gambling establishments were set-up throughout the Midwest and in more rural tourist destinations in southern states like Arkansas, Texas and Florida.

The crime associated with these gambling establishments continues today in some jurisdictions. In the early days, operators of casinos were involved in prostitution, extortion, and labor-management racketeering (Schwartz 2003, 22). Sometimes, these organizations would involve school-aged children in throwing gambling games and carrying out other casino-related duties (23). Eventually, as legal pressures grew against legal gambling after the Great Depression, gambling operators began to look towards the Far West, and in particular, Nevada. Nevada has allowed legalized gambling longer than any other state in the Union. The Far West (most of North America west of the 100th meridian except for the coastal states and Texas) was at first largely settled by transient male miners and ranchers from the east who came alone, without wives or families (25). All kinds of vices, including prostitution and drinking, were tolerated throughout the region, including in Nevada. Due to the high level of crimes in this region, stopping gambling was the one of the lowest priorities for law enforcement in this region. Thusly, the Far West still continues to be the region most suited to casino development, if only because its residents are more accepting of the perceived social issues that come with casino development, because of their values.

How does one quantify the extent to which vices associated with casinos negatively impact the communities in which they exist? Many studies have attempted to do that. In a study by the Philadelphia Fed titled “Economic and Social Impact of Introducing Casino Gambling: A Review and Assessment of the Literature”, they state although the total tax revenues generated by casinos is significant, as the industry is taxed at much higher rates than

others, the local benefits may be minimal because states retain revenue and do not allocate revenues to the local area where the casino is located (Mallach 2010). The net benefits of the casino also depend on the extent to which casinos draw customers from outside the area, create jobs within the area the casino located, the extent to which casinos displace other types of business and other types of gambling (such as state lotteries), and the total social costs. It also discusses the low-wage nature of many of the jobs generated by casinos, casino bankruptcies, and the fact that casinos draw business from nearby casinos.

In the paper “Social Costs of Gambling Nearly Half That of Drug Abuse”, casinos cause a significant increase in gambling the areas surrounding the casino, with a social cost nearly half of that of drug abuse (Reutter 2004). This paper claims that casino gambling causes \$289 in social costs for \$46 in economic benefit. The book which the paper describes claims that 10 percent of the population gambles regularly, and that the social costs created by this small percentage of population the population outweighs any benefits from gambling.

“The Costs and Benefits of Gaming,” which focuses mostly on Nova Scotia, points out the methodological issues assessing the causality of problems associated with gambling, and with assessing the intangible costs and benefits of casino gambling (Genuine Progress Index for Atlantic Canada 2004). This paper also focuses on how most papers discussing costs and benefits of casino gambling discuss them from an economic perspective, using frameworks like financial analysis and accounting, cost-benefit analysis, national income accounting/gross domestic product generated from gambling, cost-effectiveness and cost-utility analysis, sustainable wellbeing measurement systems, social impact analysis, and public health impact analysis. One of the goals of my paper is to not only assess the economic costs and benefits, but

also environmental and social costs and benefits, specifically in the context of sustainability. It will be argued that many of the costs associated with gambling are associated with the large “suburban” style casinos that are being built in many urban areas, and that casinos that can accommodate the denser nature of cities while integrating themselves with the surrounding community and business will be more successful than ones that do not.

In “Problems in Quantifying the Social Costs and Benefits of Gambling” points out the severe problems in methodologies trying to determine cost and benefits of gambling and the limited empirical data (Walker 2007, 1). The topic has been studied by a wide variety of disciplines and specialties, including psychologists, sociologists, economists, lawyers, and others. Despite decades of debates surrounding gambling and its legalization at the Federal level, surprisingly little has been written about its economic effects at the local, state, or national level (2). At the 1<sup>st</sup> International Symposium on the Economic and Social Impact of Gambling, the researchers that attended discovered there was little agreement on the appropriate framework for studying the cost and benefits of gambling, the definition of private versus public costs of gambling, what costs and benefits should be considered in socioeconomic impact analyses, or the best methods for measuring costs and benefits. Three subject that were agreed upon as adequate starting points for studying the costs and benefits of gambling were cost-of-illness, economic, and public health.

The cost-of-illness approach has been previously to drug and alcohol abuse, but it can also be applied to gambling (Walker 2007, 2). This approach assumes that resources that are directed towards solving a problem are re-directed from other goods and services that could have been possibly produced. These costs-of-illness include funding into treatment, research,

and prevention, and assumptions on what that funding could have been used for instead. Other approaches that overlap with the cost-of-illness approach include “willingness to pay” and “demographic” approaches. The cost-of-illness approach is also closely associated with the economic cost/benefit analysis approach, although cost-of-illness calculates worker productivity and expenditures differently. This approach, not surprisingly, also focuses mostly on costs, rather than benefits (3).

The economic approach to calculating the costs and benefits of gambling mostly calculates costs and benefits by looking at overall, aggregate calculations of these values at the community (Walker 2007, 4). Additionally, costs and benefits are calculated in terms of wealth, including forms of well-being not directly related to material wealth.

The last approach to calculating the costs and benefits of gambling is called the public health approach (Walker 2007, 5). This is the most the vague approach, because it attempts to calculate quality-of-life values for factors that are difficult to measure quantitatively. This approach also attempts to measure the impact of one person’s gambling on his family and community.

Attempts at developing a standardized method across different fields has been difficult, because they are so varied. Because of this, this paper will simply only make policy recommendations based on values derived from this author’s perspective of what could be improved in a casino community’s economic, social, and environmental status. If trends are negative in these three areas, such as showing a decline in employment over a certain period of time, then certain recommendations will be made to reverse these declines and make them sustainable over the long-run. Since the calculation of economic, environmental, and social

costs is such a highly debated subject, this paper will attempt to use data that is widely agreed upon as being accurate and predictive of sustainability issues within those four areas.

## **5. Areas of analysis**

Again, five areas of analysis were chosen for this paper. Las Vegas, Nevada; Atlantic City, New Jersey; Tulsa, Oklahoma; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Detroit, Michigan were all chosen because they were medium to large-sized metropolitan areas with a history of more than ten years with casinos. Additionally, each of these municipalities represents a different region of the country, each having their set of values and issues as it relates to gambling and casinos. Las Vegas, Nevada, of course, was the earliest city on this list to develop a significant gambling presence within its city limits; its successes have been the most astonishing of all the cities to develop a gambling industry, and Las Vegas will probably continue to lead the way in America's gambling industry. On the next two pages, there are two charts showing important data about each of the five analysis areas that will provide context for sustainability solutions that will be discussed later. This data will be useful for discussion of whether or not casinos in the five analysis areas are sustainable and whether or not the current plans and development documents adequately address these sustainability issues.

Table 1

Cities	Las Vegas, Nevada	Atlantic City, New Jersey	Tulsa, Oklahoma	New Orleans, Louisiana	Detroit, Michigan
Population (city)	603,488	39,551	398,121	378,715	688,701
Population (MSA)	3,734,090	274,549	961,561	1,240,977	4,296,250
City area (km <sup>2</sup> )	352.00	44.125	483.8	350	370.03
Nearby municipalities	Henderson, North Las Vegas, Summerlin, Paradise, Boulder City	Absecon, Brigantine, Pleasantville, Ventnor City, West Atlantic City, Egg Harbor Township, Hammonton, Galloway Township	Broken Arrow, Bartlesville, Jenks, Owasso, Claremore, Sand Springs, Sapulpa	Harvey, Hammond, Slidell, Metairie, Kenner	Warren, Livonia, Windsor (Ontario, Canada)
Number of major casinos	108	8	3	1 (1 in nearby Harvey)	3 (1 in nearby Windsor, Ontario)
Race/ethnic demographics	White: 62.1%, Black: 11.1%, Asian: 6.1%, Other: 20.7%, Hispanic of any race: 31.5%	White: 26.7%, Black: 38.3%, Asian 15.6%, Other: 19.4%, Hispanic of any race: 30.4%	White: 62.6%, Black: 15.9%, Amerindian: 5.3%, Asian 2.3%, Other: 13.9%, Hispanic of any race: 14.1%	White: 33.0%, Black: 60.2%, Asian: 2.9%, Other: 4.1%, Hispanic of any race: 5.2%	White: 10.6%, Black: 82.7%, Other: 93.3%, Hispanic of any race: 6.8%
Age demographics	Under 5 years: 7.2%, Under 18 years: 25.7%, 65 years and over: 12.0%	Under 5 years: 7.8%, Under 18 years: 24.6%, 65 years and over: 12.7%	Under 5 years: 7.5%, Under 18 years: 24.5%, 65 years and over: 12.5%	Under 5 years: 6.4%, under 18 years: 21.3%, 65 years and over: 10.9%	Under 5 years: 7.0%, Under 18 years: 26.7%, 65 years and over: 11.5%
Educational attainment (over 25)	HS degree or higher: 82.1%, Bachelor's or higher: 21.3%	HS degree or higher: 68.5%, Bachelor's or higher: 15.8%	HS degree or higher: 86.6%, Bachelor's or higher: 29.8%	HS degree or higher: 84.7%, Bachelor's or higher: 33.0%	HS degree or higher: 77.2%, Bachelor's or higher: 12.3%
Median household income	\$52,601	\$29,886	\$40,781	\$36,681	\$26,955
Unemployment rate	8.4%	10.70%	5.10%	7.30%	14.80%

Source: US Census Bureau Quickfacts and FactFinder (American Community Survey). Data from 2013.

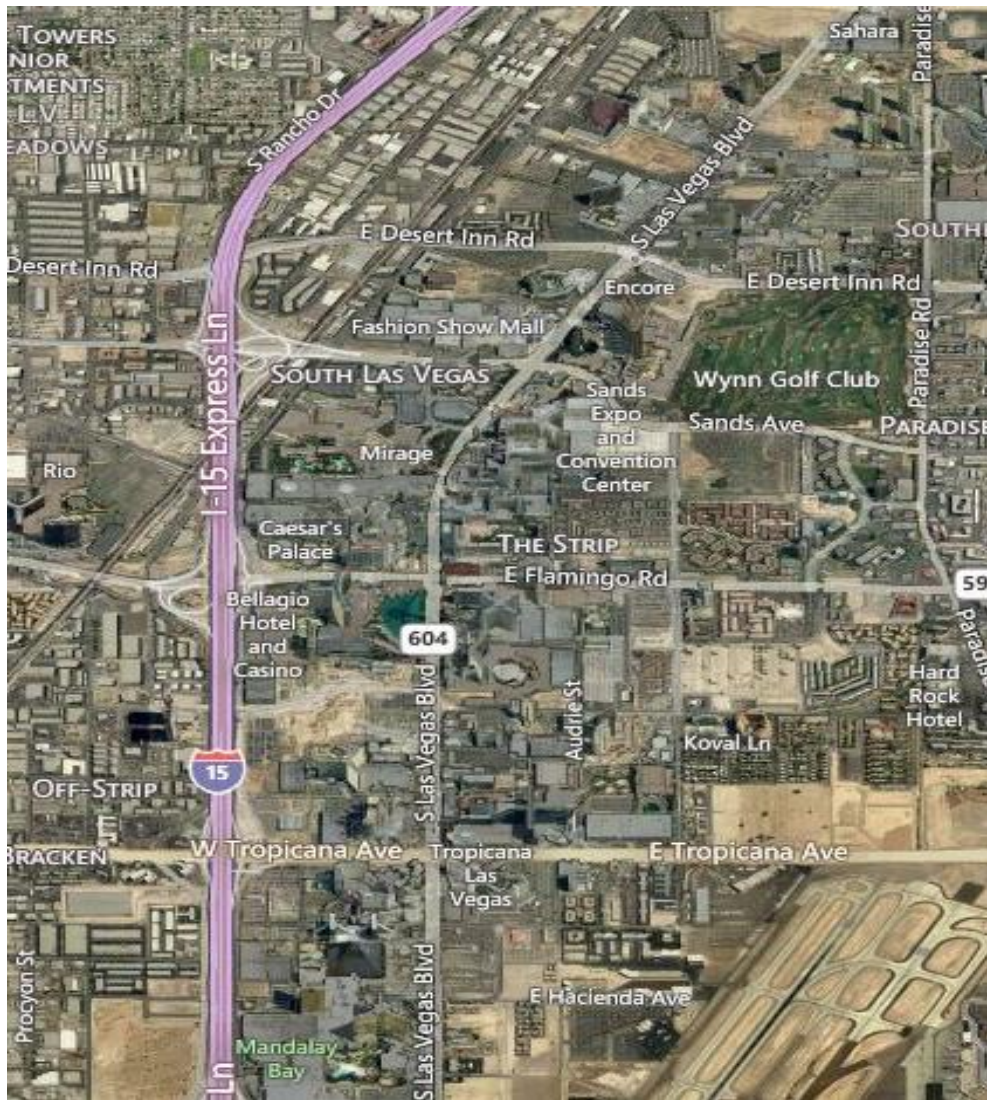


Table 2

Cities	Las Vegas, Nevada	Atlantic City, New Jersey	Tulsa, Oklahoma	New Orleans, Louisiana	Detroit, Michigan
<b>Major interstates/highways</b>	I-15, I-515	none	I-44, I-244	I-10, I-610, I-510	I-94, I-194, I-75, I-375, I-96
<b>Major airport</b>	McCarran International Airport	Atlantic City International Airport (many visitors also come from Philadelphia & Newark airports)	Tulsa International Airport	Louis Armstrong New Orleans International Airport	Detroit Metropolitan Airport
<b>Public transit systems</b>	Regional Transportatin Commission of South Nevada (39 routes), monorail, casino-operated shuttle buses, taxi cabs	New Jersey Transit (13 bus routes), jitneys, taxi cabs	Tulsa Transit (21 bus routes)	New Orleans Regional Transit Authority (30 bus routes), four historic street car lines, 37 miles of bike paths,	Detroit Department of Transportation (36 bus routes), Detroit People Mover, Transit Windor (operates route from Downtown Detroit to Downtown )
<b>Major non-casino industries</b>	Real estate, digital technology, hospitality, dining, performing arts, adult entertainment	Hospitality, dining, historic tourism, ecotourism	Oil and gas extraction, healthcare, insurance, car rental, port shipping	Oil and gas extraction, dining, historic tourism, port/ship building, aerospace manufacturing	Motor vehicle manufacturing, port shipping, healthcare
<b>Yearly tourists (2012)</b>	37 million	4 million	2 million	9.28 million	2.2 million
<b>Casino revenues (2012)</b>	\$6.207 billion	\$3.052 billion	\$548.39 million	\$622.19 million	\$1.417 billion
<b>Gambling LQ</b>	86.7	115.75	N/A	2.02	5.24

Source: Bureau of Labor statistics, BLS Location Quotient calculator and <http://gaming.unlv.edu/reports.html>. Data from 2013 unless otherwise noted.

## 5.1 Las Vegas



*Five mile portion along the Las Vegas Strip in South Las Vegas, where most of the Las Vegas's most famous casinos are located. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>. Accessed November 25, 2014.*

Las Vegas, the self-billed “Entertainment Capital of the World,” remains one of the most iconic tourist destinations in the world, largely because of its service-oriented gambling economy. Las Vegas, in less than a century, has grown from being a minor railroad town in the

Mojave Desert to being a city of 596,424 people and metropolitan region of 1,951,269. Within the state of Nevada, with its population of 2,758,931, the superior population of Las Vegas has allowed the city to dominate the rest of the state in politics (US Census Bureau Quickfacts). The Las Vegas MSA ranks first ahead of other major American MSAs like Atlantic City, New Jersey; Orlando, Florida; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Honolulu, Hawaii (Bureau of Economic Analysis, State and Local Area Personal Income, compensation by industry, leisure and hospitality, 2007) in terms of leisure and hospitality compensation as share of total compensation with \$11.3 billion in 2007, and third only behind New York and Los Angeles in terms of leisure and hospitality as share of total compensation.

During the 1990s, the city saw rapid growth in casino and resort development, which included 18 developments in 1998 and 1999 alone (City-Data 2014). Almost immediately prior to the real estate collapse, Las Vegas produced the world's most expensive casino, Wynn Las Vegas. This 217 acre casino with an 18-hole golf course represented in many ways the extravagance that typified much of Las Vegas development prior to the real estate crash. Other developments during this period included the 949-room Caesar's Palace, and the 1,117 room Thehotel. However, the good fortunes and times to be had in Las Vegas would within a few years go into a decline.

While Las Vegas and Nevada as a whole experienced explosive growth both economically and in terms of real estate during the 1990s and 2000s, the city was exceptionally hard hit by the recent real estate and financial crisis. The city and state's overdependence on gambling, hospitality, entertainment, and related industries has left the city vulnerable to the

nationwide fluctuations in per capita disposable income. In other words, as the fortunes of the national economy fluctuate, so do Las Vegas's.

As discussed in the "What is Sustainability" section, Las Vegas has had the longest history of casino urban development. The history of Las Vegas is deeply intertwined with gambling and its culture, history, and future development. Las Vegas has several casinos concentrated throughout its various areas, which include the Las Vegas Strip, North Las Vegas, Henderson, Nevada, and Downtown Las Vegas (including Fremont Street). Gambling is also found in other parts of Clark County.

The **Las Vegas 2020 Master Plan** references attempts to increase the economic, social, and environmental sustainability of communities in the greater Las Vegas region while still maintaining the casino economic base (Las Vegas Planning Commission 2000). As it mentions on page 16, Las Vegas's casinos and megaresorts have been a mainstay of economic opportunity in the city, so the sustainability of the city is deeply tied to the sustainability of its casinos.

There are 176 casinos in Clark County, with 108 in the City of Las Vegas alone, 29 on the Strip, 20 downtown, and 12 in North Las Vegas, making southern Nevada the casino capital of the world (Beauregard 2014). The Strip's casinos are by far the most lucrative, and earned 12 times more than downtown in revenues. These casinos include some of the most well-known and iconic in the history of gaming, including the Flamingo, the Riviera, Bally's, Circus Circus, the Mirage, the Luxor and Harrah's. These casinos also contain some of the most well-known architecture on the planet, equally reviled and revered by architectural critics. Many of these casinos have sustainability plans, including the **MGM Corporate Responsibility Report**, **Circus**

**Circus Casino Sustainability**, and **Caesar's Sustainability Program**, which discuss sustainability programs, mostly in regards to cost-cutting measures that will help the environment.

### **5.1.1 Economic Sustainability**

The **Las Vegas 2020 Master Plan** lists several goals that would help economic sustainability. They include redevelopment of downtown as a hotspot for commercial activity, residential, and government activity. The commercial development, to consist of retail and service uses, will be supported by new housing (40). It is expected that there will be several districts within the Downtown area, including the Arts District, the Downtown South District, the Northern Strip District, and the Office Core District. In this new downtown, gaming will be a “principal” focus but not the only one (41). The Fremont Street area will be the center of this gaming focus.

In certain areas of Las Vegas, casino employment has done well, even in the post-recession period. According to Las Vegas Strip Casino Employment, increase in revenue has stayed above increase in employment over 1990-2013 period (University of Nevada Las Vegas, Center for Gaming Research 2014, 1). Additionally, casino employees have seen their salaries increase and the number of gaming positions per employee increase, although gaming departments of casinos have seen lower revenue increases than others like hospitality, food and beverage. Similar gains have been in the food, beverage and hospitality industries. Over that twenty-three year time period, only six casinos have been added to the Strip, but there has been over 30,000 employees added.

However, the Strip has lost jobs since the start of the recession. There has been a net job loss since 2008 from 98,711 to 98,212, with an increase up to 103,261 in 2011. However,

jobs per employee have increased compared 2003 due to the increase in table games, which necessitate the employment of dealers (3).

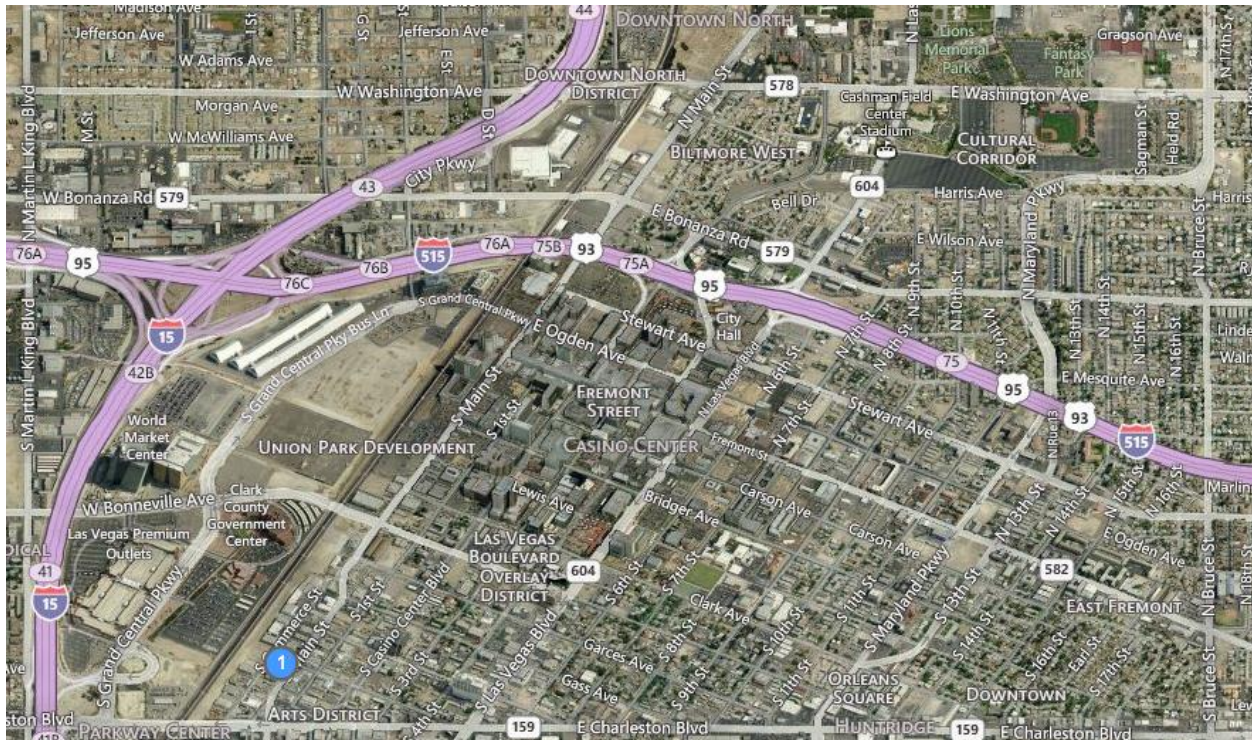
Also 1990, the rooms or hospitality sector has considerably out-paced casinos in terms of revenue generation, with room revenues quintupling, although payroll for rooms has only quadrupled (University of Nevada Las Vegas, Center for Gaming Research 2014, 3). Other experiences like dining have also becoming increasingly significant in Las Vegas since 1990 relative to casino gambling.

Zappos possibly be a major supporter of a possible Digital Technology Cluster, but other firms involved in casino security and technology could also contribute to the emerging development of various electronic and internet technology. While the location quotients below appear small for computer/peripheral equipment wholesaler, software publisher, and custom programming services, the industries have been growing over the past decade, proving that these industries already are attracting the necessary workers to support these subsectors.

NAICS	Description	2012 jobs	2012 Location Quotient
423430	Computer/Peripheral Equipment and Software Merchant Wholesaler	345	0.26
541511	Custom Computer Programming Services	3,286	0.59
454111	Electronic Shopping	2563	1.92
511210	Software Publisher	793	0.41
454112	Electronic Auctions	51	1.92



## 5.1.2 Social sustainability



*Downtown area north of Las Vegas Strip centered on Fremont Street. Source:*

*<http://www.bing.com/maps/>. Accessed November 25, 2014.*

Casinos in Las Vegas face a unique set of social sustainability issues as it relates to casino development. Because of the sheer number of casinos in Las Vegas compared to any other city in the United States, it is unlikely that the solutions to poor social sustainability in Las Vegas will apply elsewhere. And indeed, Las Vegas faces some serious social sustainability issues. *In Why Opening a Casino is a Terrible Idea*, Jake Blumgart discusses many issues related to social sustainability, and makes reference to research by the University of Las Vegas that found that 6.6% of the Clark County, Nevada's residents experience issues with problem gambling, by far the highest of any county in the nation (2014). Blugmart also refers to a book called *High Stakes: The Rising Cost of America's Gambling Addiction* by Sam Skolnik, which estimates the

annual social costs for Clark County to be up to \$900 million. Skolnik notes the above-average levels of suicide, divorce, bankruptcy and crime in the county. However, steps have been taken by casinos and developers around the casino areas to help create more integrated, socially sustainable communities.

Revitalization is occurring throughout the Las Vegas metro area, including in places that are long overdue for improvements. The **Downtown Las Vegas Project Plan** was a key plan for the revitalization of the Downtown Las Vegas area around Fremont (*Downtown Las Vegas Project* 2014). Fremont, which has traditionally been a center for smaller casinos away from the major casinos on the strip, was to be reinvigorated by the **Downtown Las Vegas Project** led by Tony Hsieh of Zappos. The goal of the project is to keep the casinos in the area while integrating them with other social outlets. The three goals outlined in the Downtown Las Vegas are collisions, co-learning, and connectedness, which are all related to social sustainability. Collisions are described as random meetings of people from both related and unrelated professional backgrounds in public areas or in areas facilitated by a public route. Co-learning is described as knowledge transfers that occur as a result of collisions. Connectedness is the connection between community members in the area that will occur as a result of the new development.

Some of specific construction projects within Downtown Las Vegas are to include Downtown Container Park, the 9th Bridge School and Oasis at Gold Spike (*Downtown Las Vegas Project* 2014). Downtown Container Park is an area that contains shops, restaurants, playground areas, and entertainment in adjacent to the major casino in area like Downtown Grand Las Vegas Casino and Main Street Station. The 9th Bridge School will be a school with for



kindergartners through higher schoolers that will focus on entrepreneurs and business. Oasis at Gold Spike is a boutique hotel. All of these new amenities will improve the factors mentioned previously that the downtown project intends to focus on.

Despite these efforts address social connections within communities by non-casino developers and businessmen, the casinos themselves in Las Vegas have done a good enough job addressing issues related to problem gambling despite policies meant to address such issues within the city. In the article "Casino giants' problem gambling efforts are shoddy," the lack of transparency on casino websites regarding resources for problem gamblers is discussed (Friess 2011). While most casino websites have a responsible gambling page that declares the casino's adherence to the American Gaming Association Code of Conduct for Responsible Gaming, these web pages tend to be fairly sparse on actual information. The design of many Las Vegas casino websites, including the websites for Luxor, Mandalay Bay, Excalibur, Stratosphere, and Monte Carlo, show images of people having while gambling and minimal information on resources to help deal with problem gambling. Getting to these pages often require finding links in tiny print at the bottom of other pages on the casino's website with more traffic, further damaging the argument that casino's actually care about problem-gambling within the community. Only one Las Vegas casino actually has well-designed problem gambling page, and that is the Sands Casino. This lack of webpage design affects casinos' ability to promote social sustainability within communities.

### 5.1.3 Environmental sustainability

Environmental issues are of pressing concern to Las Vegas and the entirety of Southern Nevada. In **Sustainable Las Vegas**, the city's main environmental policies are discussed (Sustainable Las Vegas 2006). The plan has many strategies that affect casino development (3), including the City of Las Vegas Building Existing Strategies, the US Green Building Council LEED Certified Buildings, Energy and Green Building Potential Initiatives, Climate Protection Existing Strategies, and Climate Protection Potential Initiatives.

**Sustainable Energy Strategy** was adopted in 2008 to promote environmentally-responsible building and infrastructure, and to improve the air quality and non-renewable energy sources (Resolution Adopting a Sustainable Energy Strategy for the City of Las Vegas 2008). The proposal also required all new city buildings to at least meet LEED-Silver requirements, which involves, among other things, installing energy-efficient lights and equipment.

For example, natural light has already debuted in certain casinos on the Strip (Sykes, et al., 2011, 3). Steve Wynn's Encore has filtered light on its gaming floors. ARIA Resort and Casino, which is part of the CityCenter Complex has both windows for outside views and lights on its gaming floor. Not only does natural lighting directly improve environmental sustainability, but it also improves behavioral choices of casino patrons (Sykes, et al., 2011, 4). Traditional casino design has long implemented poor lighting within its casino in the belief that it keeps patrons focused inward with less interest on outside activity. Also laws in municipalities regarding preventing the general public from viewing betting and also the surveillance design structure of many casinos have been given as reasons for a lack of natural lighting. However,

the examples show casinos can have natural lighting. Entertainment architect Paul Steelman (2009) natural light in the casino will be the rule, not the exception within several years.

**Sustaining Las Vegas** is Las Vegas's sustainability department, and they operate seven separate programs devoted to promoting sustainability, including air quality & transportation, water stewardship, solid waste and recycling, energy efficiency and renewable energy, green building, climate protection, and community and education.

#### **5.1.4 Policy recommendations**

The first goal of developers and policymakers in Las Vegas should be downtown revitalization. Tony Hsieh is leading the downtown revitalization of Las Vegas. Downtown Las Vegas has been a less attractive section of the city many decades now, as most of the tourist attractions like casinos have moved elsewhere. Hsieh and others leading the project want to attract the creative class to the city- in other words, those employed in computing, technology, art and design. Because of the city's hospitality-oriented history, most have been skeptical of the possibility of attracting a strong creative class to the city. But the skepticism should be disregarded; not only could Zappos possibly be a major supporter of a possible Digital Technology Cluster, but other firms involved in casino security and technology could also contribute to the emerging development of various electronic and internet technology. While the location quotients below appear small for computer/peripheral equipment wholesaler, software publisher, and custom programming services, the industries have been growing over the past decade, proving that these industries already are attracting the necessary workers to support these subsectors.

Another goal should be to expand the Las Vegas Medical District. The Las Vegas Medical District, which has been existence since 2008, currently includes 160 acres of health services, medical office space, and small retail spaces. The possible interconnections that could be created between the medical districts and the UNLV Nursing and Physical Therapy schools at the UNLV- Las Vegas campus, and the University of Nevada School of Medicine. Public-private partnerships between the medical school and private technology and research companies could also be created.

Another goal should be to improve advertisements and accessibility of natural amenities. Most visitors to Las Vegas are well aware of the varied accommodations, restaurants, gambling, and entertainment facilities; what many are not aware are the many natural amenities. These include the Red Rock Canyon National Conservation Area, 15 miles west of Las Vegas, which allows for rock climbing, hiking, and other forms of environmental tourism. Other environmental amenities include those in Laughlin, Nevada in southern Clark County based around RV tourism and other outdoor forms of ecotourism, and the various attractions around the Hoover Dam. Exploiting the potential of these tourism attractors is important for the economic well-being of Clark County

## 5.2 Atlantic City



Map of downtown Atlantic City with eight casinos as of October 2014. Source:

<http://www.bing.com/maps/>. Accessed November 25, 2014.

Atlantic City created its three volume **Tourism District Master Plan** after the New Jersey legislature adopted a bill which established the Atlantic City Tourism District and gave authority over the city's convention centers and special improvement district to the Casino Reinvestment

Development Authority. Atlantic City has long been known for its tourism. From the late-1800s to the early 1960s, Atlantic City was a hot-spot for vacationers along the Eastern seaboard, and a precursor to the city's modern-day casino industry existed in the form of illegal betting parlors and horse racing (Raphel 2013).

As mentioned in the "History of Casino Development" section, Atlantic City opened its first casino in 1978. Since then, the city has developed a strong reputation as a casino-oriented destination. However, the city has not had the success of Las Vegas or the urban renewal that city leaders originally expected. The development of casinos in Atlantic City was predicated on the belief that a revival of the downtown area would occur; in the 1960s, many of the city's most famous hotels were closed and demolished due to declining revenues (Schwartz 2003, 19).

By the early 2010s, Atlantic City's once thriving casino industry had begun teetering on the edge of self-destruction (Diamond and Mikle 2014). The city, with a 2010 population estimate of 39,558 (US Census Bureau QuickFacts 2014) and a metropolitan area of 275,549 (US Census Bureau FactFinder 2014), had an unemployment rate of 9.5% throughout its metro, ranking it 360 out of 372 metropolitan regions in the country (Diamond and Mikle 2014). Additionally, many of those employed in Atlantic City casinos are from outside of the county (Sullivan 2014). In 2012, Pennsylvania surpassed Atlantic City as the second largest gambling market in the country (Sullivan 2014).

The Revel Casino Hotel, a modernistic building which opened in 2012, was originally thought to be the start of a new wave in casino gambling. It had been the first casino built in the casino since Borgata in 2003. The casino targeted wealthier patrons and younger customer

by adding gourmet restaurants and boutiques not traditionally found in the area's casinos (Dawsey and Haddon 2014). However, the number of competing casinos within the city and in the northeast in general raised questions about the casino's economic viability. Their high energy costs, including \$2 million in electric bills, and a building design that was confusing to patrons did not help either. By Labor Day Weekend 2014, both Revel and Showboat in Atlantic City had closed (Sullivan 2014). Trump Plaza closed the following week, with Trump Entertainment itself filing for bankruptcy.

In the wake of these closures, the city finds trying to collect taxes still owed by these casinos (Ein 2014). Revel owed \$20.4 million in unpaid real estate taxes to the city; this is only part of the debt the casino had accumulated. 18 percent of the Atlantic City's 2014 real estate tax levies come from the Revel casino alone.

The city and its industries also took a hit when Hurricane Sandy struck the city on October 29, 2012 (McKeever 2013). Although the historic boardwalk was not severely damaged, nor were most of the casinos or businesses along the coastline, many thought otherwise when several national news organizations delivered reports suggesting that many of city's most valuable areas had been destroyed. A later statement by the District Commander of the Atlantic City Tourism District, which showed images of the intact Boardwalk, helped to deter some of these beliefs, but tourism and convention business still declined in the months following the storm. Also, as many of Atlantic City's tourist came from outside the area from points in northern New Jersey also heavily affected by the storm, this too put a serious damper on the well-being of the city.

Of the eight casinos left in Atlantic City's tourism district, few seem to have benefited from Chris Christie five-year casino marketing plan for Atlantic City casinos (CBS New York 2014). This plan, in addition to promising marketing dollars, more direct flights to the local airport, and more convention business, also eliminated casino construction throughout the state for five years from 2009 to 2014. This only hurt developers that wanted to build casinos elsewhere and did little for Atlantic City. His plan also instituted the state-run Atlantic City Tourism District that will be discussed in the next sections (Young and Kaske 2013).

What is the future of Atlantic City? And can that future continue to have casinos and be sustainable? Many planners, policy makers, and developers have asked those very questions.

### **5.2.1 Economic Sustainability**

On page five of the second volume of **Tourism District Master Plan**, the City Redevelopment District Authority states, "The mission of the CRDA is to provide capital investment funds for economic and community development projects that respond to the changing economic and social needs. The CRDA seeks to encourage business development and permanent job creation, promote opportunities for business expansion, and commit to facilitating a vibrant economic investment and employment environment in Atlantic City." Their commitment to responding to "changing economic and social needs" could be taken to represent an implicit understanding of the need for sustainability in economic and social issues. Their three-volume **Tourism District Master Plan** was created with the hope of stimulating investment and enhancing the Boardwalk area and other major thoroughfare areas while continuing to attract tourists to the casinos. The major stakeholders in the creation of the plan included Atlantic City Alliance, Redgate-Revel, City of Atlantic City Planning Department, casino



owners, City of Atlantic City, Atlantic City Residential Representatives, and Atlantic City Business Representatives (New Jersey CRDA Volume 1 2012, 2). By offering dynamic retail, including food and beverage in the tourism district, it is hoped that economic vitality can be shared between casinos and small business owners in the area (5). Stakeholder feedback also offered other ideas during the creation of the master plan, including 24-hour bike lanes, a Navy ship museum, and improving the aesthetics of the casino area (32). Tax abatements are also recommended for tourism district (29).

Atlantic City's former motto was "Ocean, Emotion, and Constant Promotion" (New Jersey CRDA Volume 2 2012, 13). One the CRDA's current economic development goals is to "reconnect the ocean, especially the casinos and the piers; to provide more viewing decks, better wind protection, sun shading devices, and winterized walkways along the Boardwalk to engage the first and second levels of the casinos with the Boardwalk; and to create an interaction of people with the ocean." This leads back to the 2005 World Summit view of sustainability as the environment (the ocean) working together with economic development (casinos) and social (public, tourists) to ensure sustainability.

Don Guardian, the current mayor, has made statements towards increased diversification of the industries in Atlantic City (Raphel 2013), with a new district for the arts and restaurants based on a world-bazaar theme. With the increasing degradation of the boardwalk areas and beach areas, these areas are unlikely to sustain much economic development in the future.

### 5.2.2 Social Sustainability

The first volume of the **Tourism District Master Plan** is concerned with the goal of attracting city dwellers, families and young professionals, in addition to tourists and entertainment seekers (New Jersey CRDA *Volume 1* 2012, 30). By improving the Boardwalk area, it is hoped that social interactions can be encouraged amongst the various constituents (New Jersey CRDA 2012 *Volume 1*, 59). Also, attractions will be developed along Atlantic and Pacific Avenues that will appeal to a wide variety of patrons. Along each of these streets, improvements in aesthetics will be made that include replacing poor signage and improving facades of buildings (61).

Along the waterfront known as Gardner's Basin, the master plan hopes to increase areas of public activity and encourage development of a family-oriented area with a possible aquarium (citing the Georgia Aquarium as an example) or other type of edu-tainment.

The Boardwalk/Beach Area is also seen as another area of possible improvement to increase social interactions (New Jersey CRDA 2012, 19). Improvements mentioned include lighting, street furniture, landscaping, and outdoor entertainment activities.

### 5.2.3 Environmental Sustainability

One environmental sustainability measure mentioned in volume one of **Tourism Master Plan** is New Jersey Transit's Atlantic City line, which runs from Philadelphia to Atlantic City. However, on page of volume one the **Tourism Master Plan** states that casinos may not support the transit through the summer of the next the year (which would have been 2012 when the document was written) (New Jersey CRDA 2012, 16). Jitneys and taxis also provide 24-hour

service along Pacific Avenue, eliminating the need for cars for patrons of the hotels who would like to visit the casinos.

The CRDA Special Improvement Division deploys daily and seasonal crews to address public park space within the Tourism District (New Jersey CRDA *Public Open Space Management* 2014). The Division improves the greenspace areas and beaches by cleaning trash and providing general maintenance of walkways and landscapes in seven of the Tourism District's greenspace areas, and maintains ten of the Tourism District's roadways. The division also runs a 75 member ambassador squad, which cooperates with code enforcement and law enforcement to maintain public park space. This division ensures the sustainability, or effective public use over time, of the city's public places that are most intimately tied with natural environment.

The built environment will be improved with Atlantic Avenue Façade Improvement project, which has been given \$6 million in funding for several properties on Atlantic Avenue. This façade improvement will on average cost \$137,000 per property (New Jersey CRDA *Lighthouse District Park* 2014). Several other areas around the city have received various degrees of funding for redevelopment, including the Boardwalk and the South Inlet Land Bank (New Jersey CRDA *Inlet Redevelopment Plan* 2014).

#### **5.2.4 Policy Recommendations**

Atlantic City existed as vacation destination long before casinos arrived, and it can continue to be one if it makes use of its best assets. Mayor Don Guardian has suggested that the city try to pull in more non-gaming tourism and business conventions (Dopp and Varghese 2013). NextCity has suggested Atlantic City will turn into the next Detroit unless they reinvest in

their built environment to create a sense of place, noting that both Atlantic City's casinos and Detroit's factories functioned by eliminating sense of place and keeping inside their perspective facilities (Feldman 2014). NextCity suggests Atlantic City expand its healthcare. Also a lack of transportation connection to other parts of the country will be helped by bringing more airlines to Atlantic City's airport, which will also help boost the various forms of tourism other than gambling.

Governor Chris Christie is also bringing sports betting to Atlantic City. Christie had tried before in 2011 to remove bans on sports betting (Johnson 2014), but failed when various sports leagues sued because of the belief that it could possibly bring corruption to professional sports, a decision that was upheld in Federal courts. However, recently, an appellate court says that wagering should be legal, given that a previous 1990s ban only disallowed state-regulated gambling, not any such wagering in the state of New Jersey, thus paving the way for sports betting.

While sports betting will help expand the gambling industry within the city, more diversification is needed outside of gambling, especially as Governor Chris Christie considers allowing online gambling within the state. At the same time, with a relatively low percentage of the population with a Bachelor's degree or higher at 15.8% (US Census Bureau Quick Facts), the city is relatively limited in what kind of business it can attract. The city's best are the industries mentioned several times throughout the three volumes of the **Tourism District Master Plan**: theaters, night clubs, and theme restaurants. Atlantic City has a core foundation in these industries that existed before casinos ever came to the city, and will continue to exist even if all

the city's casinos disappear. As these industries require cashiers, custodial staff, and landscaping, among other occupations, this could provide employment for the city's residents.

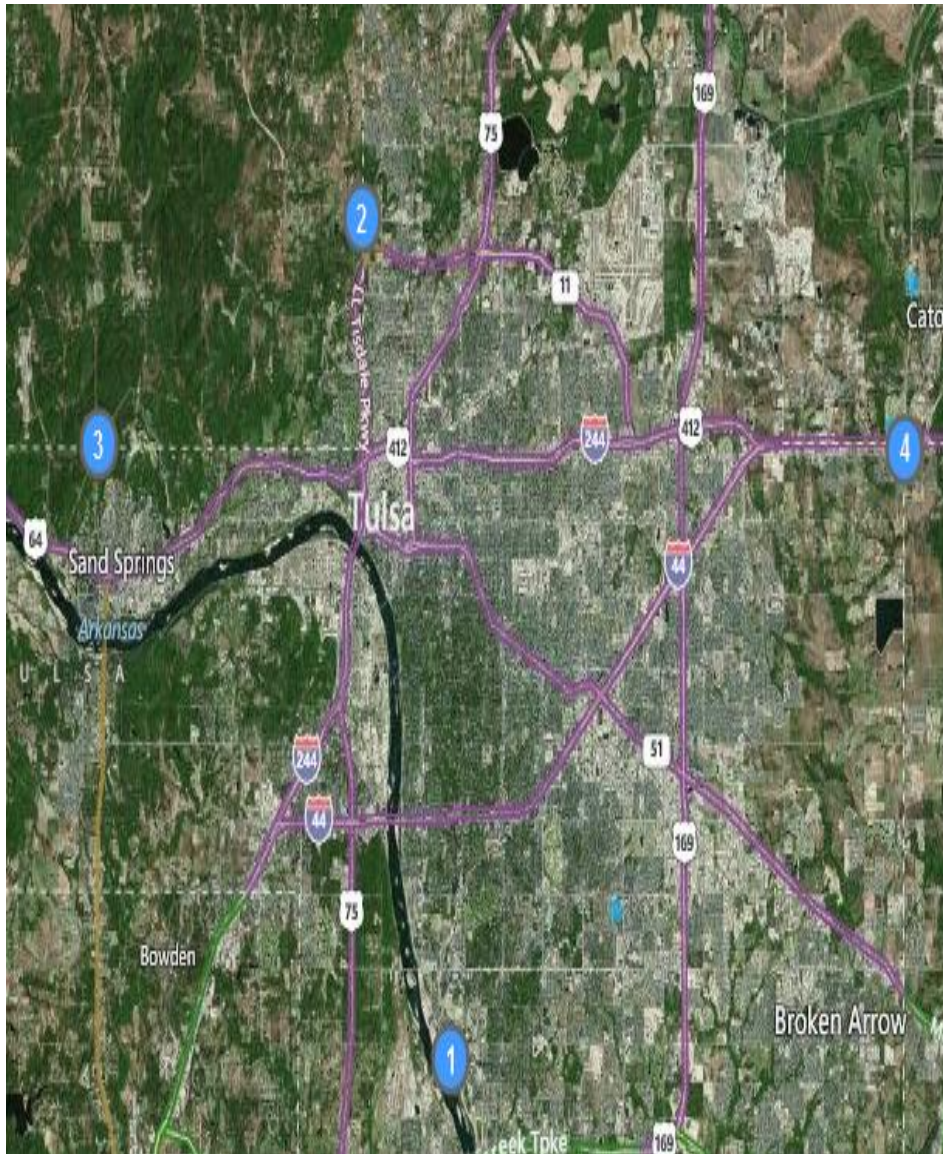
Additionally, the **Tourism District Master Plan** needs to make more references to *resilience* in addition to sustainability. While sustainability itself is not mentioned that much in the document, the word *resilience* is not mentioned even once. If sustainability is simply defined as community's ability to maintain the economic, social, and environmental well-being of a community over several generations, then resilience is the ability for a community to respond to unexpected damages to this sustainability (Rees 2014). For example, if another Hurricane Sandy type natural disaster hits there needs to be a resilient response that not only ensures that Tourism District area is not impacted severely, but also that the housing and the other contributors of well-being to the employees and patrons of the casinos is not impacted. Resilience also needs to be ensured in the public imaging of the city's tourism assets, because as it can be seen from the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy, sensationalism of the negative impacts of natural disasters and emergency events can have long-term impacts on a city's economic, environmental, and social well-being.

Internal evaluation of the City Reinvestment District Authority should be maintained. The CRDA has been criticized for making loans and grants on projects not directly related to the city or the tourism district, or to redevelopment projects run by politically well-connected individuals (Mikle 2013, 4). For example, in 2003 the CRDA funded a still-unfinished market in a suburb of Philadelphia. In 2009, the CRDA provided funds for an associate of then Governor Jon Corzine to acquire and redevelop an apartment complex in a neighboring city. Originally the funds were offered as a loan but the debt was forgiven when associate was unable to make the

repayments. Even the CRDA projects that have been to help the city have mostly been to casinos, including ones that failed, like \$9.8 million loan for facade improvements for the recently closed Trump Taj Mahal. Bob McDevitt of the casino workers' union Unite Here Local 54, said the CRDA's projects, "have been all fragmented and broken up" (Mikle 2013, 4). He also pointed out the most of the casino workers live outside of Atlantic City in other parts of the county.

John Palmieri, executive director of the New Jersey CRDA, mentions himself that laws enacted in the city required casinos to build 500 room hotels adjacent to the casinos that encouraged the "Suburban Xanadu" style casino developments described by David Schwartz in his similarly titled book (Mikle 2013, 5). This type of casino development was self-contained in the sense that hotel accommodations, food, and other forms of recreation were all provided by the casinos themselves on the casino properties, negating the need for patrons to walk or travel to other parts of the city for these accommodations and thereby spreading economic development beyond the casino companies. Additionally, garages were placed behind casinos away from the Boardwalk, further discouraging patrons from interacting with the beach area. Perhaps the CRDA will have a greater eye towards sustainability in the future and will not make the decisions that originally encouraged the unsustainability of today's Atlantic City.

## 5.3 Tulsa



*Four major casinos in Tulsa, including the Million Dollar Elm casino in the west, Osage Casino in the north, Cherokee casino in the east, and River Spirit Casino in the south. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>. Accessed November 25, 2014.*

Tulsa, Oklahoma is the second-largest city in Oklahoma and 47-th largest in the United States (US Census QuickFacts). With a population of 398,121, and an MSA of 961,561 residents,

the city serves as a cultural and economic center for the southwestern Ozark Mountains. Tulsa has historically been known as the “Oil Capital of the World,” and has been one of the major sources of oil for the American economy. Casinos have only recently become part of Tulsa culture due to a series of court decision that opened up much of the country to casinos owned by Indian tribes throughout the country.

In the early 1970s, a Chippewa couple in Minnesota brought a case to the Supreme Court over property taxes that the state tried to force them to pay (Washburn 2008, 2). When Supreme Court Justice William Brennan authored a decision saying that Indian reservations were exempted from the gambling regulations enacted elsewhere, the precedent was set for modern Indian casino gambling. The first successful Indian casinos began in the 1979 when the Seminoles opened a facility for bingo on a reservation near Fort Lauderdale, Florida (4). Further court action regarding various legislative actions, including Public Law 280 that claimed that states have jurisdiction over Indian reservations, and the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, which sought to limit organized crime in casinos, opened up Indian reservations to further casino development (5). In 1980, the Cabazon band near Indio, California, sued in federal court to open a gambling facility and won, which furthered the cause of casinos on Indian reservations. Throughout the 1980s, casino development on Indian reservation increased. Since the initial passing of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, Indian casinos have produced more than \$22 billion annually, more than both Las Vegas and Atlantic City (8).

Native American casinos are not totally exempt from state laws. Native American casinos must contribute part of their revenues to state trust funds that are later distributed to nearby communities (Encyclopedia Britannica 2013). These funds are used to maintain or



further expand infrastructure in these communities like roads. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act established the National Indian Gaming Commission, which promoted the economic development of sovereign Indian tribe, upholds the ethical values of Indian casinos, and ensures that Indian tribes benefits from gaming activities. This commission is involved in the regulation, monitoring, and oversight of all Indian casinos.

Casinos in Tulsa are notable in that they are all owned by Indian tribes. Since the construction of the first Native American casino in Tulsa in 2004, the industry has been well-supported by residents of the city. There currently exists four casinos near the city: Osage Casino and River Spirit Casino within the city limits itself, plus another Osage Casino in the adjacent municipality of Sand Springs and recently rebranded Hard Rock Hotel and Casino just east of the city in Catoosa, Oklahoma. The Osage Casinos are of course owned by the Osage Nation, while the River Spirit Casino is owned by the Creek Nation and the Hard Rock casino is owned by the Cherokee Nation. There are also Native American casinos in the Tulsa suburbs of Hominy and Pawhuska northwest of the city in Osage County, a Creek Nation casino 38 miles south of the casino in Okmulgee, Oklahoma, and a Cherokee Casino called Will Rogers Downs northeast of the city in Claremont, Oklahoma. Indian tribes near cities have been the most successful, and the Tulsa casinos have been no exception (The Economist 2007).

### **5.3.1 Economic sustainability**

Tulsa has several comprehensive development plans, including plans for its downtown area, the city as a whole, and its many trails. One of its plans, the **36<sup>th</sup> Street North Corridor Small Area Plan**, focuses extensively on integrating the Osage Casino into the city's fabric (PlanitTulsa 2014). The plan discusses creating a family-centered entertainment district east of

the Osage Casino. A pedestrian-friendly business corridor which would be designated the Main Street Corridor, is also discussed for the area west of the casino. This area would have movie theaters, shopping and recreational facilities. It is believed that development along this corridor would spur development in adjacent neighborhoods. Development in this area would take place over the next 10 years. The extension of Flat Rock Creek trail to Mohawk Park to the Osage Casino is also discussed. Transportation goals are discussed within the document, specifically to establish a bus line that will connect Lewis Avenue to the Osage Casino along 36<sup>th</sup> Street.

In the **2013 INCOG-EDD Economic Development Plan: Comprehensive Development Strategy (CEDS)** the riverfront on the east and west banks of the Arkansas River is known as Riverfront South in Jenks, Oklahoma, which is adjacent to Oklahoma City (INCOG Economic Development District 2013, 10). This riverfront area includes a Riverfront Entertainment District. This district has two zoning categories, which are a River Orientated Commercial and Riverfront Tourist Commercial district. The Tourist Commercial includes a River Spirit Casino, and the city seeks to encourage cultural, recreation and lodging around the casino.

### **5.3.2 Social sustainability**

Cherokee Nation, which owns a Hard Rock Hotel & Casino in Tulsa, has been very active in promoting social sustainability in its casino's communities. In its document **Where the Casino Money Goes**, they discuss their \$441.2 million in total revenue in 2008, \$116 million of which is profit that goes to fund government services and jobs (Cherokee Casino 2008). The casino has also helped restore cultural projects such as the Supreme Court building in Tahlequah and the Ross School in Park Hill.

### 5.3.3 Environmental sustainability

Cunningham Group, who designed the casino, sought to “reinforce a sustainable approach to the design by using recycled content materials or rapidly renewable materials wherever possible and used local materials as they were available” in the design of River Spirit Casino in Tulsa (Reiner 2009). They also used “native and drought resistant plants to reduce irrigation needs,” and “used site erosion control to reduce long term erosion and stabilize slopes.” Building design incorporated aspects of the surrounding area in terms of both layout and the building exterior.

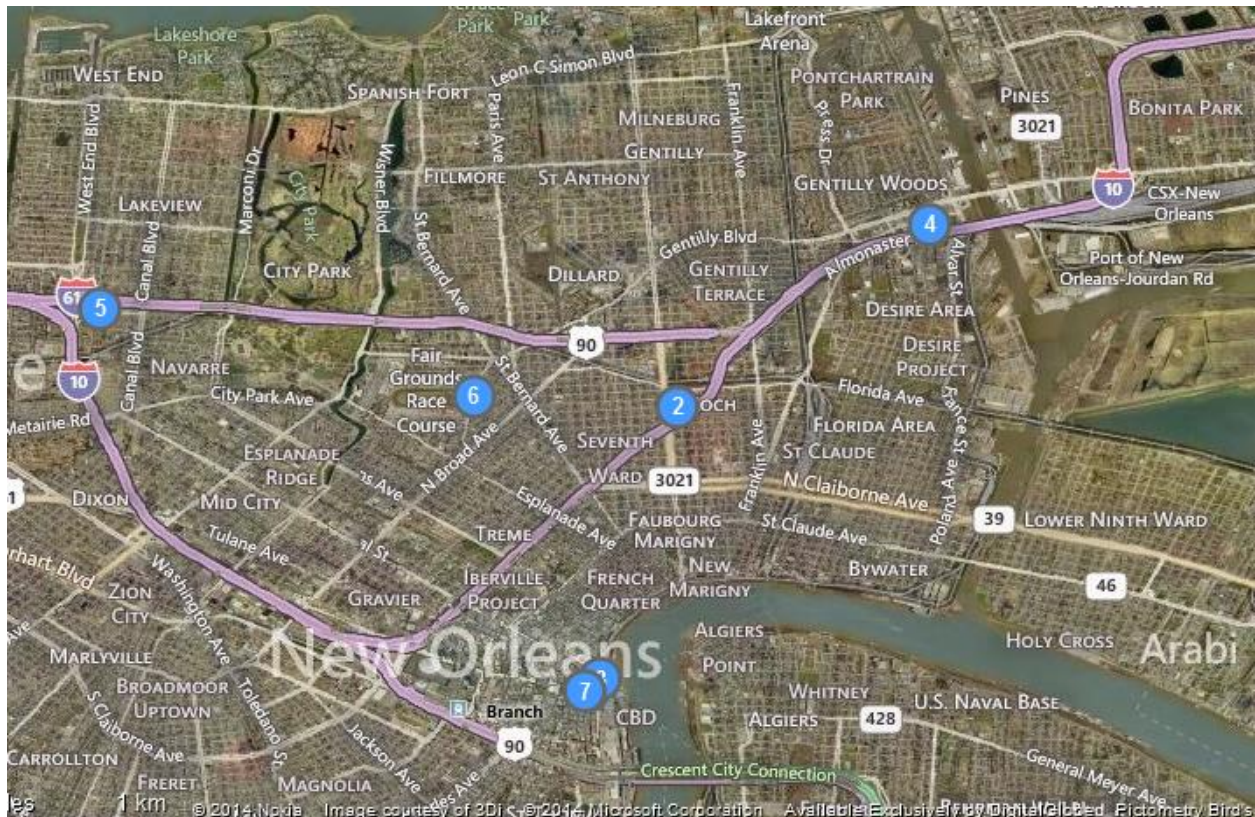
The Cherokee Nation has also outlined an environmental sustainability plan in its **Wind Energy Feasibility Study**. In it, they analyze ways to reduce the more than \$1.4 million spent for utilities in for their facilities over the past 11 months (when this document was written in 2006) (Cherokee Nation Enterprises 2006, 3). The Nation own a 4,275 acre site on their Chiloco property in north-central Oklahoma on which the largest tribal wind farm will be built. Construction of the 90-turbine wind began in 2013 and would provide 153 megawatts of power (Cherokee Nation 2013 Enterprises 17).

### 5.3.4 Policy Recommendations

Tulsa’s casinos have been relatively successful because like most Native American near casinos near cities, Tulsa’s casinos have fulfilled some of the basic functions expected from casino development: provided employment to relatively underemployed people, met a need and drew a clientele that was different from the people who employed there, and reinvested part of their revenues back into the local community. Tulsa, however, should continue to diversify its economy, encouraging casinos to reinvest part of their revenue back into

education, environmental measures, and anti-compulsive gambling measures to ensure that the city continues to thrive.

## 5.4 New Orleans



*Casinos in New Orleans, including several small neighborhood casinos and Harrah's casino at the bottom on the Mississippi River. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>. Accessed November 25, 2014.*

New Orleans has a three volume **Master Plan** known as *Plan for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, with an appendix almost equal in length to the main part of the document (City of New Orleans 2014). This document covers everything from community facilities to economic development to environmental planning and transportation. The plan was adopted in 2010, five years after the

devastation wrought by Hurricane Katrina. The city was still very much in the process of rebuilding at the time the plan was adopted, so much of it revolves around determining how the city could possibly return to its former economic level.

Casinos have been a part of the New Orleans economy and cityscape since 1992, and became the first major American city outside of Las Vegas and Atlantic City to establish a casino (Lambert, Brooks, Wagner 1995). The Star Casino was established as a riverboat casino in 1993 but departed by the next year due to poor revenues. The Hilton Hotel established a riverboat casino in March 1994 called the Queen of New Orleans, which was initially successfully and replace with a larger riverboat casino called the Flamingo. The Flamingo Casino in New Orleans was sold in 1995 due to poor revenues. Thus, the history of casinos in New Orleans has been mixed, although the Philadelphia Gaming Taskforce considers Harrah's in New Orleans to be one of only two well-integrated downtown casinos in America, along with the Greektown Casino in Detroit.

New Orleans casinos also face significant competition from casinos along the Mississippi Coast, where some of the most successful casinos outside of Las Vegas and Atlantic City are located. Twelve casinos exist along the Gulf Coast, and have many amenities that arguably out-compete Harrah New Orleans's amenities, like a full-resort area with a golf course (Mississippi Business Journal 2014). This has also hampered the ability of casinos from being boon to the city that many originally thought they would be.

#### **5.4.1 Economic sustainability**

Some have question the ability of casinos to bring long-term economic growth to the city. In "Unkept Promises: New Orleans Casinos Sing the Blues," casinos were a quick-fix to a

beleaguered economy that had been previously been heavily dependent on oil (Lambert, Brooks, and Wagner 1995). The convention center was built alongside the River City Casino complex with the goal that conventioners would use the casino; this turned out not to be the case, as most convention visitors tend to be upper-middle class, different than middle-class and lower-class demographics that typically visit casinos. In the summer of 1995, the casino had to shut down much of its gambling space and fire about 15 percent of its employees.

#### **5.4.2 Social sustainability**

Casino gambling has a desultory history within New Orleans. “Unkept Promises” discusses the social issues associated with the New Orleans Harrah’s casino (Lambert, Brooks, Wagner 1995). Serious social issues have arisen since the first casino was established. According to the article, between 1993 and 2001, problem gambling increased by 40% within the city. In 1992, the Worldwide Gambling was indicted on racketeering for running an illegal gambling establishment and defrauding Bally’s casino out of more than \$10 million.

However, all is not negative with New Orleans’ casinos. **Harrah’s New Orleans Commitment to Our Community** describes policies to stimulate social sustainability within the city (Caesar’s Entertainment 2014). They support the community through “volunteerism, charitable donations, community partnerships and sponsorship, and community grant programs.” They began Volunteering Hero, which has engaged in various charitable and civic events and projects, including KaBoom Playgrounds at Behrman Elementary at East Jefferson, Young Leadership Council (YLC) Wednesdays at the Square, Boys Town of Louisiana, Junior Achievement’s NOPS K-8 Initiative, and Painting at Charles Drew and Joseph Craig Elementary School. Harrah’s New Orleans has also submitted grant requests to Caesar’s Foundation for

various projects including the French Quarter Festival, the Urban League of Greater New Orleans, the National World War II Museum, the Greater N.O. Ed. Television Foundation (WYES-TV), the American Heart Association, Liberty Kitchen, and the Restore the Earth Foundation. The Harrah's New Orleans Casino Community Support Grant Program help fund many projects throughout New Orleans community (Caesar's Entertainment 2014).

### **5.4.3 Environmental sustainability**

Harrah's Entertainment, which owns the Harrah's Casino in downtown New Orleans, has a Code of Commitment which influenced the sustainability policy at all of its casinos. Its **Environmental Sustainability and Community Engagement Report** outlines commitments to energy efficiency at all of its casinos, including efficient light, water, and heat usage (Caesar's Entertainment 2014). Director of Facilities for Harrah's New Orleans Hotel and Casino Patrick Maher explains that "by demonstrating that a corporate recycling program can be operated efficiently and sustainably, we hope that city agencies will follow our lead and get the curbside residential programs back in operation." Additionally, volunteers with Harrah's in New Orleans have worked with Restore Central Louisiana to protect mangrove and cypress forests that are needed habitat in the city and provide flood protection. Since 2003, they have "reduced energy use by an estimated 163 million kilowatt-hours, reduced carbon emissions by an estimated 106,000 metric tons, reduced annual water consumption by more than 200 million gallons, and recycled waste vegetable oil, reaching a total of more than 640,000 gallons in 2009."

Harrah's **CodeGreen Environmental Sustainability Strategy**, their company-wide sustainability policy, gives explanations for various environmental targets (Caesars Entertainment 2014). These targets include "reduce energy consumption (fossil fuel based) per

1,000 air-conditioned sq. ft. by 20% and 40% by 2025,” “reduce absolute greenhouse gas emission by 10% by 2012,” “reduce greenhouse gas emissions per 1,000 air-conditioned sq. ft. by 40% by 2025,” “reduce water consumption per 1,000 air-conditioned sq. ft. by 10% by 2015 and by 15% by 2020,” “divert 25% of total waste from landfill by 2014 and 50% by 2020,” “achieve LEED certification for all newly-built and expanded properties owned by Caesars,” and obtain “Green Key Certification for all properties in the U.S.” All of these have been exceeded except for reduction of greenhouse gas emissions per 1,000 air-conditioned sq. ft.

Harrah’s Resort also describes expanding the availability of its EV charging at domestic resorts at several casino locations including Harrah’s New Orleans (Caesar’s Entertainment 2014).

#### **5.4.4 Policy Recommendations**

Harrah’s New Orleans made many smart decisions in its initial construction. Unlike Las Vegas-style casinos, with their massive self-contained casinos landscapes, Harrah’s New Orleans was constructed to fit in with its surroundings, with classical French Baroque and Greek revival styles that match the surrounding buildings (Philadelphia Gaming Advisory Task Force). However, it does not seem that the casino has generated any new economic development as a result of its success, but rather it simply has not hurt existing businesses. Additionally, with other casinos in New Orleans area, and the recently revived casino along the Mississippi coast in Gulfport and Biloxi, there should concern about the possibility that these casinos will damper possible of Harrah's New Orleans.

Like the casinos in Atlantic City, Harrah's New Orleans should be concerned the possibility of future disasters as they relate to severe weather. There was little mention of the



casino's efforts to protect against a future natural disaster like Hurricane Katrina, but a sustainable and resilient development plan would emphasize is

## 5.5 Detroit



*Shows three casinos in Detroit, with the Motor City Casino at marked by 2, MGM Grand Casino marked by 6, and the Greektown Casino marked by 7. The Caesar's Windsor Casino is directly across the Detroit River. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>. Accessed November 25, 2014.*

The City of Detroit has a population of 713,777 residents, and the second largest decline in population over the past 60 years of any city in the United States with the exception of St. Louis (US Census Bureau 2014). Nonetheless, Detroit remains the largest city in America with a casino (Mink and Mink 2001). The city has become notorious in the past several decades for episodes of corruption and crime, the most egregious example of which was the Chapter 9 bankruptcy filed on July 18, 2013 (Davey and Walsh 2013). Much of Detroit's problems seem

irreparable, but planners, businessmen, and developers, among others, have sought to solve the city's problems. Detroit's three casinos, the MGM Grand Detroit Casino, the MotorCity Casino Hotel, and the Greektown Casino, were all approved by Michigan voters in 1996 to be built in the Detroit Riverfront area.

### **5.5.1 Economic sustainability**

Creating greater economic sustainability has been one of Detroit's longest-term concerns. The city has benefited economically somewhat from its three full-service casinos and the convention centers that were built. As the Institute for Urban Policy discuss in **Detroit's Unsustainable Casino Economy**, the MotorCity Casino, MGM Grand Detroit, and the Greektown Casino were constructed largely in response to the construction of the Caesars Windsor in Windsor, Canada in 1998 (Shih 2010). The three Detroit casinos have supplied income both in the form of taxes and licensing fees, thus providing \$122 million for the state and \$149 million for Detroit. However, this revenue is not returning to the denizens of Detroit, since most of the customers the residents themselves, many of whom are poor and elderly.

In **Metropolitan Detroit: Challenges of a Recovering Region**, a document from 1997 on the eve of the development of casinos, it is suggested that casinos, along with sports and entertainment facilities, would help revive the long declining Detroit, which suffered from a long-term decline in its fortunes (The City of Detroit 1997, 1). The three casinos exceeded the initial investment in the Empowerment Zone (The City of Detroit and the Southeast Michigan Council of Governments 1997). In **From Cars to Casinos: Global Pasts and Local Futures in the Detroit-Windsor transnational metropolitan area** also discusses the self-engorging competition amongst the casinos in the Detroit-Windsor region (Ryan 2011).

### 5.5.2 Social sustainability

Two reports, titled **Governor's Blue Ribbon Commission on Michigan Gaming: Report to the Commission** (1994) and **Report of the Mayor's Casino Advisory Committee** (1997), were released prior to the advent of casino gambling in Detroit and laid out the bare truths regarding the possibilities of negative social effects from casino gambling in Detroit. **The Governor's Blue Ribbon Commission** in particular addresses many of the social concerns related to gambling. The paper recommends, among other things, land-based casinos because of their greater revenue generation, advanced planning for possible problems, with the concomitant number of police officers, rejection of electronic gaming in drinking establishments and pari-mutuel horse racing tracks, possible pathological and compulsive gambling, and the increase in larceny on casino property in previous casino developments (Blue Ribbon Commission 1994). **An Assessment of Crime Volume Following Casino Gaming Development in the City of Detroit** addresses those two previous papers and explores to what extent the worst fears regarding casino gambling have come true (Moufakkir 2005, 1). It argues that casino gambling that "total Index Crime" offenses did not increase in Detroit, although certain types of crimes did increase in nature and others did not (1). Previous literature asserting the connection between casinos and crime tend not to include transient populations with their studies, and did not control for internal validity by controlling for crime in neighboring communities (2).

### 5.5.3 Environmental sustainability

The MotorCity Casino Hotel has an extensive strategy for minimizing its negative environmental impact. Some of the policies described in include automatic defaulting by thermostat to room temperature to ambient temperature when a room is unoccupied, self-

service kiosks and paperless television checkouts, maximum and minimum temperatures for the HVAC system, and LED lights on building instead of neon lights (Motor City Casino Hotel 2014). Other initiatives include state of the art chilled water units, trash that is hauled to an incinerator, and paper towel in all rooms that meet Green Seal environmental standards.

#### **5.5.4 Policy recommendations**

Detroit, like several of the Indian reservations, has benefitted from casinos because of the lower income, lower-skilled population of the city that had few skills in anything else. Further casinos, however, would not be good for the city since the market is already so saturated. Through the first nine months of 2014, revenue at Detroit's casinos was down three percent compared to last year (Welch 2014).

There have already been many plans to improve neighborhoods within Detroit. **District Detroit** consists of twelve blocks of mixed-used neighborhoods and important world-class venues like the new arena, the Fox Theatre, the Masonic Temple, Comerica Park, the Detroit Opera House, the Ford Field, and Fillmore Detroit (District Detroit 2014). The various neighborhoods in the district are anchored by these important developments.

The Detroit Midtown Anchor Strategy is a new attempt to improve planning and development outcomes within the city of Detroit (U3 Advisory 2014). This project will be anchored by three important Detroit institutions: Wayne State University, Detroit Medical Center, and the Henry Ford Health Center. This strategy will increase business for local business by attracting patrons of the three anchor institutions. This may impact casino's and their sustainability, particularly Greektown, which geographically proximate to the Midtown area. The project involved cooperation among local universities and hospitals, the CDC, and

neighborhood groups. The Midtown Detroit Co-Lab will serve as a storefront of Midtown Detroit Inc., that will advance the goals of an area called the Woodward Corridor and various retail in the area.

Midtown Detroit Techtown is another project that is planned for development within the Midtown District (Sasaki 2014). This development strategy explicitly states that it has environmental, economic and cultural sustainability goals. Some of the steps included to reach goals are expansion of public park space, access to light rail transit, and an exercise/bicycle circuit. Additionally, plans for a bioswale for remove silt and pollution from runoff water is planned. This district will be 149 acres. This development strategy discusses community engagement using computer software titled "Circuit Board," "Coin Survey," and "MyTechTown." The last of these three software programs ask the community direct questions to discover their impressions of possible urban strategies to be implemented in the project.

These developmental plans address some of the economic and social sustainability issues that were not addressed in the **Detroit Master Plan** (City of Detroit 2009). However, the master plan suffers a severe weakness in that it addresses little of the importance of the casinos to the city, let alone sustainability issues. Hopefully these newer strategies will address some of these issues.

## **6. Conclusion**

Gambling has been a source of revenue for governments for centuries (Goodman 1995, 7). More recently, gambling has been pursued by policymakers, developers, and casino owners in the form casinos, with the idea that they improve urban landscapes. This is despite negative feelings among constituents of many communities against the casinos (6). As far as the actual

successes of casinos, they have been mixed (8). Casinos have become a source of dependency, as Stephen P. Perskie, former chairman of New Jersey's Casino Control Commission, alludes to in his statement, "Once the casino opens and the dice begin to roll, gambling creates an instant constituency. People depend on it for jobs. Government depend on it for revenues" (10). For the most part, the positive employment and economic development benefits that are the main focus of casino development are only temporary.

So with all of this said, is it possible to make America's casino communities sustainable? Can the economic benefits of casinos be made to last longer while simultaneously supporting the social fabric and environment of the community the casinos are located in? This author believes yes, but with strong reservations. This paper discussed six different municipalities: Las Vegas, Atlantic City, Tulsa, New Orleans, and Detroit; municipalities that vary widely in their perspective cultures, built environment, and populations, but share in common the fact that their economies are highly dependent on casino development. All of these cities have strengths, but they also have weaknesses surrounding their casinos that can be improved.

Because of the varying characteristics of the cities, it is difficult to determine the single best plan for all of them to increase the sustainability of their casinos and the communities that surround them. Many of these cities have already made efforts to address issues of sustainability in comprehensive development plans, legislation, and in casino policies. The following charts make up a report card where the author briefly addresses the sustainability strengths and weaknesses of casino development in each city. Report card grades are based on whether any local planning documents or casino policies address the issue described in the table, and the also city's casinos' recent performance in regards to that particular issue. This

provides a starting point for improvement of casino development and sustainability in the analysis areas.

Casino Sustainability Report Card					
Cities	Las Vegas, Nevada	Atlantic City, New Jersey	Tulsa, Oklahoma	New Orleans, Louisiana	Detroit, Michigan
Quality of city/area-wide plans for sustainability	<b>A</b> (Addressed in 2020 Master Plan, Las Vegas Sustainability plan, Downtown plan)	<b>A</b> (Tourism Master Plan addresses many sustainability issues)	<b>C</b> (Tulsa Master Plan does not address sustainability in depth enough)	<b>C</b> (New Orleans' <i>Plan for the 21st century</i> does a good job of addressing sustainability issues)	<b>C</b> (Detroit Master plan does a good job of addressing sustainability issues)
Quality of city/area-wide plans for casinos	<b>A</b> (The 2020 Master Plan addresses casino sustainability at length)	<b>A</b> (Tourism Master Plan addresses casinos in addition to other tourism aspects)	<b>C</b> (City-wide master plan does not address casinos; Brady District plan addresses casinos but only briefly)	<b>B</b> (There is discussion in the main comp. plan regarding casino development)	<b>B</b> (There is discussion in the main comp. plan regarding casino development, especially in the section about Downtown and the Greektown district)
Casino policies/regulations	<b>A</b> (Most of the Las Vegas area casinos have plans that address sustainability in depth)	<b>B</b> (Most of the AC casinos have policies addressing sustainability)	<b>B</b> (Most of the Tulsa casinos have policies addressing sustainability)	<b>B</b> (Most of the NO casinos have policies addressing sustainability)	<b>B</b> (Most of the Detroit casinos have policies addressing sustainability)
Change in local problem-gambling	<b>D</b> (Las Vegas casinos have addressed problem gambling on websites but information is hard to find; problem gambling does not seem to have improved)	<b>B</b> (AC casinos have problem gambling policies, self-exclusion from casinos)	Not enough data/information to determine	Not enough data/information to determine	Not enough/data information to determine
Transportation improvements	<b>B</b> (Monorail built in cooperation with MGM Grand and Bally's, many casinos provide shuttle buses)	<b>B</b> (Casino patrons now more likely to use transit)	<b>C</b> (Other than bike lane improvements along the river front, it does not seem there have been very many trans. Improvements due to casinos)	<b>A</b> (Casino have provided funding for improvement of local transit including trolleys)	<b>D</b> (Some shuttle buses, but not much other than that)
Economic future for casinos	<b>D</b> (revenues declining since recession, Caesar's casinos, which make up a majority of the Strip, are doing particularly poorly)	<b>F</b> (Several of Atlantic City's casinos have closed down recently)	<b>A</b> (Revenues and employment in Tulsa casinos has continued to increase)	<b>C</b> (Future of Harrah's casino depends on well-being of economic well-being of Caesar's entertainment, who recently filed for bankruptcy)	<b>C</b> (Decline in revenues)



Cities	Las Vegas, Nevada	Atlantic City, New Jersey	Tulsa, Oklahoma	New Orleans, Louisiana	Detroit, Michigan
<b>Local industry diversity</b>	<b>C</b> (Low but improving; increased employment in digital technology industries, which is enhanced by investment of casinos)	<b>D</b> (Little diversity outside tourism-related industries)	<b>B</b> (Indian reservations have used funds from casinos to improve other industries like cultural tourism and agriculture)	<b>D</b> (Little economic diversity, although casino has partnered with Tulane for economic development program)	<b>D</b> (Low, casino has supported some technology-related industries, but this does not help lower-skilled residents of Detroit)
<b>Competition from new casinos in neighboring regions</b>	<b>C</b> (Las Vegas faces a great deal of competition from other Nevada cities and LA)	<b>F</b> (Several of Atlantic City's casinos have closed down recently)	<b>C</b> (Many casinos are being throughout Oklahoma which will provide competition with the Tulsa era casinos)	<b>D</b> (Revival of Gulfport/Biloxi casinos will seriously hurt Harrah's)	<b>B</b> (Windsor casino has done well along with casinos in other parts of state, but little competition nearby to Detroit)
<b>Total tourism at nearby natural amenities</b>	<b>A</b> (Addressed in 2020 Master Plan, Las Vegas Sustainability plan, Downtown plan)	<b>D</b> (Tourism at the Boardwalk has declined significantly, Las Vegas "suburban"-style casinos discourage people from visiting other amenities)	<b>B</b> (River Spirit Casino has encouraged tourism of Tulsa River)	<b>A</b> (The design of the casino is integrated with the surroundings and encourages visiting the Miss. Riverfront)	<b>A</b> (Not many natural amenities, but casino design encourages visiting rest of city)
<b>Total environmental impacts and public health impacts of casinos</b>	<b>B</b> (Casinos have policies regarding environmental sustainability but there is still more that can be done)	<b>C</b> (Casinos have policies regarding environmental sustainability but areas around casino in decline)	<b>B</b> (Casinos have policies regarding environmental sustainability but there is still more that can be done)	<b>B</b> (Casino has helped protect riverfront area and parks)	<b>B</b> (Casinos have policies regarding environmental sustainability but there is still more that can be done)
<b>Plans for development of future casinos</b>	<b>B</b> (Future casino development has slowed, although is probably a positive for future casino revenue)	<b>F</b> (Casino industry appears to be declining quickly in AC)	<b>B</b> (Future casino development has slowed, although is probably a positive for future casino revenue)	<b>C</b> (Any future development faces stiff competition from nearby Gulfport/Biloxi)	<b>B</b> (Future casino development has slowed, although is probably a positive for future casino revenue)

The success of the analysis areas in terms of casino development and addressing sustainability issues can be ranked in following order: Las Vegas, Tulsa, New Orleans, Detroit, and Atlantic City. Las Vegas has had the longest time to get casino development right, so they have had the most success with casino sustainability. Tulsa has also done many good things, especially in terms of economic development for the Indian tribes that own the casinos. New Orleans and Detroit both have the positives of having casinos that are fairly well-integrated with the environment, but the economic success of these casinos is questionable. This author sees five underlying principles for improving the sustainability of all casino communities located in medium-sized and larger metropolitan regions.

1. "Suburban"-style casino development works best in Las Vegas, and there are few other places where it seems to work well. "Suburban"-style casino development can best be described as large casino facilities located on properties that are several acres or more in size. This type of casino development can also be considered a type of megaresort. This style of casino development often has many amenities related to the casinos, including hotel accommodations, restaurants, luxury stores, recreational facilities, theaters and even amusement parks. This style of development is often heavily dependent on automobile travel and discourages patrons from leaving the casino property. Thus, this type of casino development does not integrate well into cities and communities that have not had a long history of casino developments. Detroit and New Orleans have made decent efforts already at integrating their casinos into their environment.

2. The built environment of a casino- its layout, its interior design, its relation to surrounding buildings, its walkability and accessibility, the type of gambling inside, facades, and its surrounding landscape architecture, among other things- has a large impact on its success or failure in regards to social sustainability. Historically, casinos have had an architectural style with minimum access to the outside in terms of doors or windows, darkly lit interior rooms, expansive layouts with a dense number of gambling machines because these often attract problematic gamblers and long, winding paths to the inside of casinos. Unfortunately, the type casino built environment that leads to success for a casino owner/operator often makes it unsustainable for the communities as a whole. This is because certain types of casino environments that improve casino revenues encourage pathological gambling and other social ills. For example, many casinos. Las Vegas casinos have had a history of this negative, unsustainable type of development, but newer casinos like the Wynn are experimenting with other styles of architecture.
3. Casinos do not seem to vary in their likelihood of long-term success based on the socioeconomic status of the communities they are located in. While poorer communities may see a short-term reduction in unemployment due to the types of jobs offered, they often waste this short-benefit when various ills like problematic gambling begin to increase. Problematic gambling is often more seen in relation to poor communities. Additionally, small restaurants, entertainment venues, and stores are vulnerable to the economic success of casinos that provide alternatives to them. Meanwhile, casinos tend to attract fewer customers in wealthier communities, thus

making those communities less attractive to large casinos in the first place. Thus, casino development should be accompanied by strong efforts to counter-balance these negative impacts on social and economic sustainability.

4. As casinos become more common, and as potential casinos patrons begin to have more options among various forms of entertainment, the economic sustainability of casinos will decline. This has especially impacted Atlantic City, where the development of casinos in nearby states like New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland has stolen business away from Atlantic City casinos. New casino developments may not even the short-term success that they used to have as the casino market becomes more and more saturated.
5. Casinos frequently address environmental sustainability in their various corporate documents, but economic and especially social sustainability to a lesser extent. This is partly because environmental sustainability is much more well-defined than economic sustainability and especially social sustainability, but it also has to do with the fact casinos often benefit from policies that economically or socially unsustainable in the short-term. Many casinos do have policies that address problem gamblers, and have departments and divisions involved in community engagement, but they may not go far enough to address all the economic and social unsustainability caused by casinos.

Several new cities are now considering casinos or have recently begun the construction of casino development. The two where this construction is most intensive are Massachusetts and Maryland. The long-term success of these casinos is dependent on how sustainable they are. MGM is building a casino in Springfield, Massachusetts (Goonan 2014). It seems possible

that the casino will at least be profitable for the state. MGM Springfield paid an \$85 million licensing fee to Massachusetts to build an \$800 million casino in Springfield.

However, there are already many foreseeable problems with the casinos that will be potentially developed based on their lack of adherence to five points of sustainable casino development mentioned above. Nearby states like Connecticut have been considering casino developments in addition to already existing casino development despite pessimism among state leaders like Governor Dannel P. Malloy (Sturdevant 2014). Legislators in Connecticut are still considering a slots parlor on I-91 between the cities Hartford and Springfield, Massachusetts. Even though keno had already been approved in 2013, Republican opposition had kept casinos and keno games out of the state. Nonetheless, the Mohegan tribe and various legislators have pushed casino development in Connecticut in the wake of plans of developing casinos in Massachusetts. As point four above mentions, new casino developments will have to compete with the limited casino demand that is already being serviced by casinos in other states and within the states themselves.

*As Fighting Springfield Casino With More Gambling Is A Bad Bet*

(Hartford Courant 2014) discusses, building more casinos is rarely the best to address competition from other states or communities constructing their casino developments. In the case of Massachusetts, there are already 50 casinos in the region. Gambling often preys on those who are most vulnerable to the negative impacts of casino gambling.

Baltimore, Maryland has been even more aggressive about promoting its new casinos developments (whose construction are nearing completion as of September 2014); it remains to be seen how well its casino will address the five points above. The city has begun creation a

**Casino Master Plan** specifically to address issues related to casinos based on certain projections of infrastructure needs, land use changes, and possible public spaces surrounding the casino (Baltimore Master Planning 2014). This casino is expected to produce \$10 million in revenues in the fiscal year of 2015 (Baltimore Casino Impact Funds 2014, 1). The city's Local Development Council hopes to create public space areas around the casino that are sustainable and effective in terms of serving the diverse constituents of the city (2). The council hopes the communities surrounding the Horseshoe Casino in all issues regarding the development process. Some of the projects planned for the area around the casino include new storm water systems, public plazas, neighborhood streets, sidewalks, transit, and other street elements that will improve both social and environmental sustainability (4). The LDC made a funding request to the Baltimore City DOT to study the impact of the previously mentioned projects and a possible Complete Streets Study which will address transportation issues in the neighborhoods directly adjacent to the Horseshoe Casino (5). This council has also made requests for funding for several projects, including an employment connection center for \$500,000 for a neighborhood near the casino that will provide basic workforce development opportunities to the city's residents, a \$100,000 for a consultant service for a master plan for the casino area, \$2.4 million per year for public services around the casino, including medical services and sanitation, and \$3,800,000 for a citizen-run community benefits district (6). The city's plans for the area surrounding the casino are prodigious and quite ambitious.

This master plan is for a large area that includes many important institutions and facilities in Baltimore, including Camden Industrial Area, the Stadium Area, South Baltimore, Riverside, and

the Spring Garden Industrial Area (Baltimore Horseshoe Casino 2013). Other ultimate goals beyond the sustainable aims already mentioned include Housing and Land Use development.

The Horseshoe Casino even consisted of an extensive preliminary transportation plan (Department of Transportation Baltimore City 2014, 3). The casino predicted that over 10,000 people would attend the opening of the casino, and thus transportation accommodations had to be planned for the occasion. Long-term transportation goals included creating 2,000 to 2,500 parking spaces for casino patrons, possible transportation needs between the Baltimore Stadium and casino during and after Orioles baseball and Raven football games (4). The Baltimore Department of Transportation will also install sign along Interstate 83, 95, 295 and 395 to direct possible patrons to the casino (5). Additionally, a "Charm City Circulator Route" will be constructed to bring patrons the casino from downtown (6).

While this planning seems very progressive, casino developers and planners in Baltimore still have not considered all of the sustainability issues outlined above. Baltimore has a large lower-income population who are vulnerable to negative effects of gambling; the preliminary master plan made little reference to any programs that will help problem gamblers. While the mayor's office does recommend nearly \$2 million for policing, this does not address the possible problem gambling issue (Baltimore Master Planning 2014).

The future of gambling will regard the issues above as the foundation for sustainable casino development, although it seems neither the new Horseshoe Casino nor potential MGM Springfield have fully addressed the issues outlined above. The issue the author felt that was most important to sustainability, which was issue one, or the avoidance of "suburban-style" casino development, seems to not have been addressed by the most recent Baltimore Casino.

Even though the casino earned \$6 million in its first six days (CBS Baltimore 2014), it is unlikely that this success will be sustainable. Many have already pointed out the detachment of casino from its surrounding environment despite attempts in the architectural design of the casino roof, outdoor plaza, and windows to establish integration with Russell Street on which the casino is located (Phillipsen 2014). The large bulky parking deck behind the casino also takes up space in area that could be suitable for other uses, or could be used to interface better with surrounding built environment. Additionally, discussions have been made into the development of non-gambling areas within the casino for non-gamblers complete with a food court; however, the planned location for these areas are across a large floor of gambling machines, the type of gambling that is most apt to attract vulnerable new gamblers. On the other hand, the casino earned a LEED Gold certification for innovative environmental design measure like collecting storm water for use in lavatories and landscaping, and use of locally-extracted materials in manufacturing (Sharrow 2014).

Issues with sustainability are already appearing as early as September 2014, as casino revenues are 34% below projections the city made earlier in the year, which the city had used as basis to determine casino-derived funds to be used in public works projects (Reutter 2014). This was about \$730,000 compared to the \$1.1 million the city originally estimated that the casino would earn. Lastly, concerns exist regarding the casinos competition; there have plans for a casino at National Harbor in nearby Prince George County.

If the future of casino development in United States is exemplified by the Baltimore casino, feelings about future casino development should be mixed. Critics ranging from planners to constituents to anti-gambling proponents have argued that casino development as



is currently exists in most cities is largely driven by cities hoping to find a get-rich-quick approach to raising tax dollars for projects. Casino developers and politicians rarely fully take into account the sustainability issues surrounding casino development. Hopefully this overview and others like it will raise awareness of the issues surrounding maintain sustainability in casino communities.

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